DIMENSIONS

OF

GENDER

IN A

SCHOOL

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Abstract

This thesis reports research undertaken during 1975 and 1976 in a co-educational multi-racial comprehensive school in London. The study aims to examine in what ways sex-class (in comparison with ethnicity and social class) structures relationships within the school. The author spent eight months in daily observation of five classes of 15 and 16 year-old pupils and their teachers. A framework is proposed for understanding the development of gender identity (masculinity/femininity) which places the role of school in a wider context.

Pupils' perceptions of teachers (in the abstract and of those who currently teach them); their understandings of the pupil role; their classroom behaviour; and their academic aspirations and achievement are examined in relation to their typifications of males and females and their own self-concepts as feminine/masculine. Relationships between these are neither as straightforward nor as consistently pro-male as previous research would indicate.

Teachers' perceptions of male and female pupils are examined in the light of their own teaching values and of differential classroom behaviour of pupils. No firm evidence of teacher bias towards/against one sex can be discerned. The status of female and male teachers is discussed. Males occupy most of the senior posts and in general enjoy higher status than females. In terms of those who teach, many school subjects are sex-differentiated throughout the school, with 'female' subjects being more peripheral to the core curriculum. This sex-differentiation is closely paralleled in fifth year pupils' choice of subjects for study.

The school was organised around pupils' sex-class. It is demonstrated that large areas of consensus regarding sex-class exist between pupils and teachers.

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Contents

Chapter 1

Sex and Gender as a Case Study in the Moral Climate of the School

In the formulation of the present research I have been influenced by those social scientists who see 'values' as intrinsic to the discipline (Becker 1967; Becker and Horowitz 1972; Dahrendorf 1968; Gouldner 1962 and 1968). Their insistence that people's values are a legitimate and essential focus of research is matched by their understanding that a 'value-free' sociology is a chimera - the values of a researcher enter into both the choice of research area and the means by which that research is carried out. Their own empirical work (Becker et al 1961 and 1968) is the best proof of the efficacy of this view of the sociological enterprise. The present study is concerned to understand values in relation to the material world in which they arise and are expressed. As will become clearer in this chapter my debt to the writers mentioned above is in terms of basic assumptions and as following chapters will demonstrate, I have addressed myself to a limited area. For this reason, if no other, I cannot hope to match the richness of material and conceptual scope which distinguishes their work. Specifically I shall deal with certain values (of teachers and pupils) which relate mainly, though not exclusively, to one issue (sex) in a specific milieu (a comprehensive school)

Arising equally from professional-academic and personal concerns the present study was conceived as an exploration of some

of the implications involved in asking 'How much does sex matter?' More specifically, to whom does it matter, in what circumstances and in situations where it does, what consequences follow for males and females?

In this chapter I hope to briefly indicate how my interest in the issues arose, what conceptualisations have informed the study and to suggest why it was thought fruitful to research the issues in a school. (The latter discussion is continued in a later chapter, after I have described the ways I went about setting up and carrying out the research). It should be made clear that I did not set out to test a particular theory or specific hypotheses, preferring to regard this piece of work as an exploration of ideas generated by personal (but not unique) experience and interests.

A longstanding interest in the education and employment of women (Fuller 1968) was further fuelled and given coherence by the 1974 BSA conference (subsequently published in Barker and Allen, 1976a, 1976b), where paper after paper demonstrated not only the continuing existence of sex segregation in many spheres of life, but also underlined the extent to which that segregation was unproblematic to a sociology which relied on hand-me-down notions of men's and women's 'roles'.[1]

At this period I was working on a research project looking at aspects of identity development among ethnic minority adolescents. I was also involved in the Women's Movement, particularly in teaching Women's Studies to adult classes. The comparisons between

the material location of blacks and women is by no means new (Myrdal 1944). The similarities in the stereo-types applied to blacks and women which have been adduced to explain that location and the parallels in the analyses and programmes of the Black Consciousness and Women's Movement were nevertheless instructive. Even more enlightening were the differences which emerge in the social scientists' understanding and treatment of the causes and consequences of the postion of women vis-a-vis men and blacks vis-a-vis whites.

The key sociological concept here is that of a sex-linked role - specifically 'women's role' or 'women's traditional role' as it is sometimes termed. The term is used to cover any or all of the following conceptually separate things; firstly, a woman's potential for bearing children (often, erroneously, phrased as a woman's biological function, which clearly has a quite different resonance from potential); secondly, child-rearing; thirdly, housework; and fourthly, those personality traits which are thought to be more associated with females than males - traits such as expressiveness, passivity, non-competitiveness, which are gathered together under the general rubric 'femininity' and which are said to be functional for a woman because of her potential for bearing children.

These traits are not usually held to be biologically or genetically determined. Rather it is said that they are acquired through a process of socialisation, as are those traits which are thought to be more characteristic of men - instrumentality, aggression, competitiveness,

etc. - labelled 'masculinity'. There is, then, an emphasis on differences between the sexes rather than an overlapping or shared characteristics. The different personality traits of women and men lead them into different (separate) avenues - men to the work-place, women to the home - and sex segregation (e.g. in the job market) is 'explained' essentially in terms of differential socialisation, rather than in terms of structured inequalities or discriminatory practices. Socialisation, then, leads to separate sex 'appropriate' spheres.

Sex-class[2] (male or female) only acquires social meaning through the mechanism - called socialisation - by which persons learn behaviours and attitudes appropriate to their sex-class (termed gender roles). One <u>is</u> female or male, but one <u>learns</u> to be masculine or feminine. It is important to notice that there is no sociological equivalent for men of the concept of 'women's role' (Wallman 1976). Sociologically, the notion of 'man's role' in the singular is meaningless.

Biological fact has to be translated into social/sociological fact. In other words sex is made meaningful socially through the acquisition of 'appropriate' gender identity (Chodorow 1972), as skin colour is made socially meaningful in the concept of 'appropriate' ethnic identity. Where mainstream sociology becomes schizophrenic is in its attempts to explicate the material location of black (ethnic) minorities and women in our society. Analysis of the low pay, high unemployment rates and poor jobs of the former tends to be in terms of structural inequalities and/or discriminatory practices on the part of white people. Thus sociology recognises the inequity of differential access to resources when it is based on ethnic group membership. It would now be difficult to find a sociologist who, while recognising that black and white identity may differ in some respects, would analyse

the material location of black people in 'white society' in terms of black personality traits.

In contrast, the differences in pay, power, job opportunities etc. as between women and men continue to be 'explained' in the sociological literature (even if not actually justified) by recourse to just such personality trait explanations, and specifically to the exigencies of 'women's role' (see Brown 1974). It is necessary to ask why biologically derived differences should be held as such a potent and primary explanation of the structural position of women but not of black people.

Such explanations are insufficient and inappropriate in both cases. What has come to be seen as offensive and special pleading of a particularly obnoxious kind with regard to ethnic minorities is only now beginning to be recognised as such in analyses of the material location of women and men. As an explanation of lower status, power and unequal opportunities for black people ethnic role is both politically and sociologically inconceivable. As an equivalent concept, 'women's role', continues to have some sociological and political respectability.

The discipline has shown that it can, at the very least, adapt its conceptualisations in response to changes in political conceptualisations and understandings of black-white relations to the social structure. That it has not done so with regard to the sexes indicates both the relative lack of politicisation generally of male-female inequalities and the discipline's under-development in this regard.

Thus in partial answer to my original questions it seems that social scientists (by no means only sociologists - see for example Seiden's (1976) review of psychology) have assumed or asserted that sex matters to many people and in many spheres. But in their activities as social scientists it has apparently not mattered to them, in that they have demonstrated very little unease at the phenomena they describe.

Phenomena are situated - historically, economically, socially, politically. Sociology sometimes appears to make an exception of sex and gender in that important understanding. I now turn to that branch of sociology which, in attempting to explicate the processes of socialisation, stresses the importance of situating our analysis in a concrete context. It may be, and is my hope, that in concerning ourselves with <u>specific</u> contexts in which socialisation regarding <u>particular</u> identities and world-views takes place, we may be able to strengthen the discipline's understanding of those identities, world-views and contexts, so that it does not continue to rely on a-historical and a-contextual representations of the complex relationships of male and female to the social structure and to their identity as men and women.

In their suggestive work Berger and Luckmann (1971) point the way to a more fruitful interest in the process of socialisation, through their notion of an ongoing dialectical process of externalisation, objectivication and internalisation[3] of socially-constructed inter-pretations of the world. Briefly, they view socialisation not as some reified phenomenon, but as a process by which <u>other people</u> transmit

the values, customs and acceptable behaviours of society to a new generation by means of direct and indirect teaching of prescribed interpretations of reality. In this way, as another writer observes, ' ... the study of adult-child interaction (formerly socialization) becomes the study of cultural assimilation'. (MacKay, 1973, p.31).

The prescriptions (regarding values, customs, etc.) are surrounded and upheld by what Berger (1971) calls 'plausibility structures'[4], that is, people, rituals and the like which confirm and legitimise a particular view of the universe. As a result the prescriptions are subject to two kinds of constraint. In the first place since reality must be legitimised, receive support from others, interpretations are not arbitrary or infinite in number. Secondly, individuals are active participants in their own socialisation. Surrounded as they are/may be by alternative interpretations of reality (with their attendant plausibility structures) people may test one interpretation against another or make their own interpretations or reinterpretations to be offered for confirmation by others.

Personal Construct theory (Bannister and Fransella 1971; Kelly 1955) provides a similar conceptualisation of how the dialectical process referred to above, operates from the standpoint of the individual who is at the receiving end of others' interpretations of reality. Kelly talks of the individual constructing personal hypotheses about the world. He stresses the active role of the individual in generating hypotheses and the consequent idiosyncratic nature of such 'personal constructs'. For present purposes it would be as legitimate (and

more fruitful) to regard them as concepts offered to the individual which s/he borrows as hypotheses and tests against his/her own experience or that of significant others. In this way, however society is defined for or by the individual, societal views of reality are suggested to the individual. Where these views are confirmed by others, (that is, where their plausibility structure is not found wanting), the individual is likely to adopt them as though they were his/her own. Kelly's work is a useful statement of the way in which societal definitions of reality are experienced as personally-generated ideas about the world.

Society is not a monolithic entity, being made up of a variety of groupings which are or are construed as being located differently in the social structure. Different perspectives or world views are associated with being differentially located in the social structure. People are concurrently members of a number of these groupings. Therefore:

> 'Every individual is born into an objective social structure within which he encounters the significant others who are in charge of his socialization. These significant others are imposed upon him. Their definitions of his situation are posited for him as objective reality. He is thus born into not only an objective social structure but also an objective social world.' (Berger and Luckmann 1971, p.151).

The child encounters a specific configuration of experiences, values, attitudes and customs as a result of his/her location in particular socially-meaningful groupings, because:

> 'The significant others who mediate this world to him modify it in the course of mediating it. They select aspects of it in accordance with their own location in the social structure, and also by virtue of their individual, biographically rooted

idiosyncracies. The social world is 'filtered' to the individual through this double selectivity. Thus the lower-class child not only absorbs a lower-class perspective on the social world, he absorbs it in the idiosyncratic coloration given it by his parents (or whatever other individuals are in charge of his primary socialization). The same lower-class perspective may induce a mood of contentment, resignation, bitter resentment, or seething rebelliousness. Consequently, the lower-class child will not only come to inhabit a world greatly different from that of an upper-class child, but may do so in a manner quite different from the lower-class child next door.' (Berger and Luckmann 1971, p.151).

The relationship between a person's location in the social structure and her/his identity is set out by Burton and Whiting as follows:

> 'We would like to define a person's position or positions in the status systems of this society as his identity. Furthermore, we would like to distinguish three kinds of identity: attributed, subjective, and optative. Attributed identity consists of the statuses assigned to a person by other members of his society. Subjective identity consists of the statuses a person sees himself as occupying. And finally, optative identity consists of those statuses a person wishes he could occupy ... It is our thesis that the aim of socialization in any society is to produce an adult whose attributed, subjective, and optative identities are isomorphic: 'I see myself as other see me, and I am what I want to be'.) (Burton and Whiting, 1961, p.86, emphasis in original).

Socialisation not only 'brings about symmetry between objective and subjective reality, objective and subjective identity' (Berger 1966, p.107), but 'Identity, with its specific attachments of psychological reality is always identity within a specific, socially constructed world" (Berger, 1966, p.111). In other words the individual is socialised into the mores, assimilated into the culture of, a particular constellation of groupings.

With this perspective 'society' could not be an arbitrary idiosyncratic construct, for insofar as a number of individuals inhabits similar groupings one would expect similarities in the

repertoire of interpretations presented to them; nor is it a reified abstraction to be perceived and experienced in the same way by all people, since not everybody inhabits the same groupings.

Hence it becomes necessary to ask what (or rather, who) is 'society' for an individual. During the early period of induction into the social world (primary socialisation) society is a relatively finite number of people of whom family and close kin are the most common and frequent interpreters of reality for the child. However it is not limited solely to tangible human beings. At one and the same time 'society' is quite specific <u>significant others</u> and more generalised archetypes, ideal types, or what one might call <u>significant roles</u>, that is, a person's own particular father but equally the idea or role of a 'father'.

> ' ... every time a mother threatens her child with "I'll tell your father ... he'll punish you", though she has in mind a real person and a real situation (which is by no means unimportant) it is to the symbolic father behind the actual father that her words refer. The dead father of the law, who alone can say, like the Judaic God, "I am who I am", is there, however weak or absent his real representative may be, however dominant the mother, however apparently 'matriarchal' the particular situation'. (Mitchell, 1974, p.394 - 395).

In common with many other writers, in dealing with socialisation Berger and Luckmann do not linger long over the details of how its 'idiosyncratic coloration' to which they refer, is created. The recent literature on primary socialisation (almost exclusively written by social psychologists) has concentrated on the tangible figures within the family, notably parents and siblings. In this

literature the process by which socially constructed interpretations of the world are subjectively appropriated, is defined as (reduced to?) how the child learns appropriate behaviour within the family. There are competing models, as for example, the social-learning (Mischel 1967) and cognitive-developmental (Kohlberg 1967) theories of identity formation, which attempt to indicate how the individual 'takes the attitude' of others (Mead 1934) whether through imitation, modelling or identification with another. No attempt will be made here to assess the respective merits of these psychological models which are referred to merely to underline that the role of the family is considered important by writers who approach the phenomenon of socialisation from very different traditions and with varying perspectives.

Development of gender identity (self-concept as feminine or masculine)

The social structure is composed of various groupings which being social constructs are not autonomously existing facts which impose their own meaning on people, but are made meaningful by being construed as such by those people who comprise society. Part of the reality into which individuals are inducted is a division of the social world into groupings or categories of people and the way 'their' groups are related to some or all of the other groups in society.

Sex-class (biological sex male or female) appears to be universally understood as one such division in the world. The recognition of primary sex differences is almost as universally overlaid with

social meanings so that biological dimorphism is construed as psychological and social dimorphism. Notions of appropriate (and inappropriate) ways of seeing, being and behaving for males and females are embodied in concepts of masculinity and femininity, which will be referred to here as gender identity.

> 'An individual is categorized as belonging to the male gender'[sex-class in our usage] 'on the basis of a single unchangeable physical characteristic: he is judged as more or less masculine in terms of a large set of cultural stereotypes and standards'. (Kohlberg, 1967, p.92).

Sex-class is an important basis of a person's social identity because of the meanings attached to it. The importance of the elaborations of sex-class - notions of masculinity and femininity- probably shifts from situation to situation, as between one group and another and may also change over time.[5] The meanings and values are socially learnt and, as others have indicated, come to be experienced as natural:

> ' ... successful socialization shapes a self that apprehends itself exclusively and in taken-for-granted ways in terms of one or the other of two socially defined sexes, that knows this self-apprehension to be the only 'real' one and rejects as 'unreal' any contrary modes of apprehension or emotionality'. (Berger, 1966, p.106).

While assimilation into the prescribed interpretations of reality results in taken-for-granted knowledge about all divisions there are some divisions which, I would argue, are construed as 'more natural' than others. The meanings and values attached to some statuses are perhaps perceived as more fixed and irreversible where that which defines the group is some unchangeable physical characteristic. Both skin colour and sex-class are cases in point,

though important differences in the way in which sociologists have treated these categories are discussed later in this chapter.

In his summary of previous work concerning the development of gender identity Kohlberg concludes that:

> 'Children develop a conception of themselves as having an unchangeable sexual identity at the same age and through the processes that they develop conceptions of the invariable identity of physical objects'. (Kohlberg 1967, p.84).

He estimates that this understanding has normally been achieved before the child enters school.

Dornsbusch notes that:

> 'Since sex is an ascribed status, as well as biological fact, the society can begin anticipatory socialization in the early years. Just as a military academy prepares a young man for a career as an officer, so early socialization prepares the child for his mature sex role'. (Dornbusch 1967, p.208).

In line with our previous discussion such anticipatory socialisation would be taking place within the family. Barry et al (1957) surveyed 110 (mostly nonliterate) societies and found evidence that, at age four, boys and girls were being reared differently and that fairly consistent sex differences with regard to responsibility, nurturance, obedience, achievement and self-reliance could be discerned. However caution should be exercised in extrapolating from their study to literate societies : the extent to which such <u>direct</u> or <u>conscious</u> teaching takes place is related both to the degree of sex segregation among adults considered appropriate (which clearly varies between societies) and the economic base of the society (D'Andrade 1967) - factors which are apparently

not themselves discrete. In addition, in more complex societies anticipatory socialisation accounts for only some of the observed differences between males and females whether as children or adults.[6] There are differences which cannot be clearly related to such factors as child-rearing practices differentiated with regard to female and male children. Nevertheless there is a large literature which concentrates on child-rearing patterns in advanced societies (e.g. Lansky (1964); Kelly and Worell (1976)).[7]

A great deal of research effort over a long period of time has been expended by social psychologists[8] in trying to locate those precise features of family form and dynamics which are conducive to 'normal' or 'healthy' gender identity. Much of the literature is psychoanalytic in provenance (Bronfenbrenner 1960, 1961a, 1961b) whether this is explicit or implied, relying on the concept of 'identification' as the means by which children learn to assume their appropriate gender identity. The work of sociologists such as Parsons (Parsons 1958; Parsons and Bales 1955) which has informed the sociological literature on socialisation is itself derived from Freudian theories of identity development. If identification with the same sex parent is a prerequisite of gender identity, as psychoanalytic theory suggests, then the absence of a parent is thought to be deleterious to the child. Consequently there is a large group of studies examining the supposed problems of boys from father-absent families (Biller 1971; Hunt and Hunt 1976; Johnson 1963; Mussen and Distler 1959; Smith 1966). Since gender identity,

in this tradition, tends to be equated with psycho-sexual identity, there is a clear assumption that to be well adjusted children need to be appropriately sex-typed (i.e. males to be masculine and females to be feminine). Thus boys without a father with whom to identify will 'have' to identify with their mother, thus becoming feminine. Those who remain so are said to thus become homosexual, while those who reject their 'femininity' acquire an 'over-compensatory' masculinity. Similarly poor opportunity to identify with mother is said to result in a female's identifying with father (Nilsson et al, 1971) and/or becoming lesbian (Kremer 1969; Kremer and Rifkin 1969).

The logic of this arguemnt appears to be as follows. Adults in the family are appropriately sex-typed. Parents are the most important significant others in the development of a child's gender identity. The essence of femininity is expressiveness, emotionality, etc., and of masculinity is instrumentality and so on. Mothers are undifferentiated in their behaviour to both sexes, being expressive towards both. Fathers differentiate their behaviour, being expressive towards daughters and instrumental towards sons.[9] Therefore the boy whose father is absent learns only 'feminine' characteristics and while father-absence affects girls it is less disrupting of their adult gender identity since they can learn the essential trait of expressiveness from their mother. It is perhaps in this sense that one should understand Simon and Gagnon's (1967) contention that lesbianism is associated with <u>successful</u> socialisation into the 'feminine' role while male homosexuality is associated with a <u>failure</u> in socialisation.

Other writers (Bigner 1972; Brim 1958; Fauls and Smith 1956; Heilbrun and Fromme 1965; Kahn et al, 1972; Koch 1955; Levanthal 1970) have concentrated on the presence or absence of siblings as additional or alternative people whom the child might model or imitate or with whom s/he might identify. The research indicates no clear trends and since potentially useful contextual material (ethnicity or social class being obvious instances) is not included as a matter of course, it is impossible to attempt to infer any fruitful lines which would draw the research together.

Thus while this body of work concentrates on the very people who we have suggested are likely to be most important in laying the foundations of gender identity upon which future socialisation may be built, in the event it proves to be somewhat unilluminating.

Despite the lack of conclusive data a number of interesting speculations can be made concerning the early socialisation of the sexes into gender identity and of ethnic minority members into ethnic identity.

If 'society' in a child's early years is synonymous (or virtually so) with parents and siblings, then the significant others for black children are themselves likely to be black. It is commonly assumed[10] that because derogatory views about black people are prevalent among whites, that blacks living in countries where there are black and white populations, will automatically and unavoidably internalise those derogatory views and 'take the attitude' of white people. A recent British writer, clearly influenced by Berger and Luckmann's work can nevertheless conclude:

> 'For the black child brought up within the same society [as a white child], things are rather different. He is surrounded by the same colour-values and attitudes, and they are made real to him; they pervade all the social life and the institutions of the society and he cannot help but absorb them. They speak directly to him, for within those attitudes is a picture of his group, and by implication, of himself. The more derogatory is this portrayal, the more unacceptable is the 'identity' it imposes.... the inferior status of the minority underwritten by their colour, ensures them a devalued identity. So as the white child develops a positive identification with his group and a preference for it over others, in line with the attitude of the majority, the black child faced with the same climate of attitudes may develop a very much more ambivalent pattern of identification and preference'. (Milner 1975; p.59-60: emphasis added).

The point which I am trying to underline is that a careful reading of Berger and Luckmann's thesis, to say nothing of one's own observational experience, suggests quite otherwise. Black and white children in their early and formative years do not inhabit the same society merely by living in the same country. Black children, inducted into the social world by black adults, may internalise interpretations of the world substantially at variance with the interpretation and evaluation of black people acquired by white children. Consequently black children's conceptions of themselves might well shield or innure them to a partial or wholesale adoption of white people's interpretation of the world. This is not to deny the existence and widespread nature of derogatory views of blacks, but only to suggest that by their existence a devalued identity is by no means the only, but rather one specific outcome for a black child (Baughman 1971; McCarthy and Yancey 1971; Rosenberg and Simmons 1972): an outcome which is more likely where the adults who form society for that child have

themselves entirely appropriated white majority interpretations of the world. Indeed unless there were black people who had in some way been 'immunised' against whites' perception and evaluation of blacks it is difficult to imagine how the Black Consciousness movement might have begun.[11] In other words not all black children inhabit the same society merely by virtue of being black, any more than do all white children because of their skin colour. There are variable relationships to the social structure within black and white populations as well as between them.

In contrast, the chances are extremely high that within their family children will be raised in a mixed sex environment. In that the location of adult males and females in the social structure is different their construction of social reality will differ. The child lives in a social world which is divided into male and female, where the sexes are differently placed in the social structure, and where the division forms the basis of a division of activities, modes of dress, typical ways of behaving and so on which attract varying levels of power and prestige. Thus sexual dimorphism and associated gender differentiation are quite concrete knowledge for the young child since representatives of the female and male sex (whether parents, siblings, other close kin, neighbours) are encountered intimately and daily. It may well be the case that nobody differentiates their behaviour towards very young children nor expects differences in their behaviour. But once children acquire the knowledge of themself as unchangeably female or male, it is a small step to understanding that whatever differences between the sexes they observe within their own family apply to them, too. From the start, then, almost all children inhabit a sex-differentiated society and one which

indicates that sex-class is socially meaningful. Through direct and indirect teaching and exhortation by others; by their own observation and inferences; and by imitation and modelling the child eventually internalises the socially constructed interpretations of reality in his/her society.

Sex class may be a socially meaningful category in all societies and be almost as universally construed as giving rise to and being associated with differentiated gender identity. The content of definitions of masculine or feminine identity varies between and within societies. The particular constellation of groupings to which individuals belong (as e.g. age, ethnic group, religion, region, social class and sex itself) thus give rise to systematic differences in what is taken-for-granted gender identity.

During the years of primary socialisation a child may assimilate gender meanings which are substantially at variance with those encountered later. The child's socialisers may engage in behaviour and activities which are at odds with these later meanings, or indeed, with the meanings they themselves seek to inculcate.

As has already been indicated, prescribed interpretations of the social world have something of the nature of moral imperatives an element of 'ought' is involved in defining what 'is'. Kohlberg examines the ways in which children come to associate evaluative connotations with stereotypes of masculinity and femininity.[12] Young children show a tendency to make judgements of value which are consistent with their own self-concept, so that 'who/what is

like me, is good', or 'my sex is better than the other' (Brem and Cohen 1962; Festinger 1957; Kelly 1955; Osgood and Tannenbaum 1957). There is also a tendency for prestige or 'goodness' values to be closely and intrinsically associated with sex-class and for males to be seen as more prestigious more of the time. Thirdly, young children tend to perceive basic conformity to gender meanings as moral:

> ' ... children often seem to view same-sex behaviour as morally required, and to express punitive sentiments to children who deviate from sex-typed behavior. It seems likely that this tendency is largely the result of the child's conception of a socio-moral order in which each person has his place and duties, and in which deviation should be punished'. (Kohlberg, 1967, p.122).

These ideas are not merely whimsical misunderstanding, for even though adults are less likely to have such a rigid conception of the moral necessity of being appropriately sex-typed, nevertheless it has to be remembered that conceptions of femininity and masculinity are not neutral descriptions, but carry with them prescriptive overtones.

Many writiers have concluded that 'there tends to be a general cross-cultural bias concerning the use of gender [sex-class] as social criteria. The majority of societies organize their social institutions around males rather than females' (D'Andrade, 1967, p.181), though there is now considerable debate (see for example, Bernard 1973; and papers in Lloyd and Archer 1976 and Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974) as to whether this actually describes the situation or is the result of male ethnographers' bias and/or bias towards male institutions inherent in anthropology and sociology.

What seems less disputable is that, in our society the socially defined sexes are evaluated differently (Rosaldo 1974) and that

views derogatory to females are widespread. Indeed it is suggested that such views are institutionalised:

> ' ... the institutional subordination of women is more complete than would be expected solely on the basis of differences in the average level of dominance or aggression. There is a process of extension of the occupational division of labour which produces an institutional status of maleness and femaleness in every society. The result is a social devaluation of women. Zelditch et al (1965) have analyzed the manner in which an evaluated diffuse status characteristic, such as sex, leads to differences in evaluation of behavior. Activities performed by women are evaluated less highly than men because they are performed by women'. (Dornbusch, 1967, p.207: first emphasis added).

Whether all children come to an understanding that women are less valued and that male and female are construed as different and unequal; or whether some, as a result of specific features of their early 'society' have a contrasting interpretation of the meaning of sex-class is an empirical question. The discussion which follows does not rest on the assumption that all children 'know' that 'woman is the lesser man' (Alfred Lord Tennyson) but only on the assumption that virtually all children come to 'know' in their early years that sex-class exists and is socially meaningful. Nor is it being suggested that all children are 'colour-blind' and unaware that skin colour and/or ethnic distinctiveness are socially meaningful constructs. On the other hand I am suggesting that because of the nature and composition of 'society' for the pre-school child - almost certainly containing males and females and almost as certainly containing people of one skin colour only - s/he 'knows' that skin colour and sex are socially meaningful with

varying degrees of experiential certainty. As has been already indicated, people by their membership of different groups (social class, age, sex, ethnic group, etc.) are differently related to the social structure and are thereby brought to different understandings of 'society'.

Even where early socialisation brings about isomorphism in an individual's attributed, subjective and optative identities (to use Burton and Whiting's (1961) formulation) this does not create the same self-concept or understanding of social reality for all people. There is no 'hidden hand' which brings people to the same understanding of society but merely by means of different routes. Rather the different routes point to varying 'knowledge' of the world. Normative consensus (shared meanings and evaluations of a construct) which transcends a particular grouping is thus problematic, something which needs explanation, rather than being taken-for-granted as an end-product of socialisation processes.

I shall now turn to examining the implications of differential primary socialisation for later socialisation and try to indicate some ways in which early socialisation is primary both temporally and in terms of its importance.

Interpretations of reality introduced and introjected at an early stage provide the basis for the generation, understanding and evaluation of alternative world-views or perspectives which the person encounters as his/her society widens to encompass people and roles beyond the immediate family. It is when this happens that secondary socialisation begins. To continue the earlier

illustration, black children on entering school, may be confronted by quite different perspectives on the world from their own 'reality'. It is by no means automatic that they will internalise these alternative perspectives either at all or even in part. A complete rejection of all that they have known previously is likely only insofar as school presents a totally different world-view from their own and is successful in creating plausibility structures which disconfirm the children's taken-for-granted assumptions about the world and confirm those of the school. Since secondary socialisation must take place against the backdrop of primary socialisation it is constrained and mediated by the tendency of people to respond to new information, interests, people and evaluations in ways which are consistent with their existing interests, evaluations, perspectives and understandings (Piaget 1953). It is in this sense that I understand Berger and Luckmann's inference that:

> 'It is at once evident that primary socialization is usually the most important one for an individual, and that the basic structure of all secondary socialization has to resemble that of primary socialization'. (Berger and Luckmann, 1971, p.151).

In this respect I diverge from those writers, of whom Rafky (1973) is a recent example, who appear to regard primary socialisation as having a fixed end-state, so that secondary socialisation is conceived as second socialisation:

> 'The child, initially a tabula rasa, is enculturated: cultureless, he is introduced into the symbolic universe of his parent society. On the other hand, the adult, possessing a world-view, is acculturated: he moves from one symbolic universe into another. A more accurate

> description of adult socialization, is therefore, re-socialization. The archetype of adult re-socialization is the immigrant who assimilates the world-view of a society very different from the society of his birth'. (Rafky, 1973, p.55).

I am more inclined to the view that secondary socialisation begins much earlier than adulthood, as soon as the child leaves the relative shelter of her/his family, so that the model of secondary socialisation as adult socialisation is partial. Adult socialisation is one aspect of a continuing and continuous process. Rafky earlier seems to take this view, but then ignores it:

> ' ... socialization is continuous. It is not useful to conceive of socialization as a process that ends at some point in the biography of an individual'. (Rafky, 1973, p.55).

The implication of this view being that only in certain circumstances - as in religious or political conversion or in unsought indoctrination - is there likely to be a clear disjunction or discontinuity between a person's world view in early childhood and in their world-view in older childhood or adulthood.

What this suggests for the present study of adolescents in a school is as follows. School is not an abstract entity,[13] it is composed of people. Thus it is not 'school' which attempts to socialise its members; rather the people (pupils, teachers, cleaners, secretaries, caretakers and researchers) whom the child encounters at school may all be potential socialising agents (consciously so or not), while the events which take place during the hours of schooling provide the milieux in which socialisation occurs. There will probably be a variety of perspectives on the world, some more or less consistent with each other, some conflicting.

The values and understandings encountered at school cannot be accurately seen as either one monolithic nor even two (pupil vs teacher) coherent value systems.

However the varieties of world-view are finite. Allies, people who see the world in the same way as the individual, may be encountered. If there is a continuity between primary and secondary socialisation as has been suggested then allies would almost certainly be sought. Such people might be found among any of the different types of people in school; e.g. among other pupils, conceivably among staff. These alliances would tend to protect the particular world-view of their members and shield them from conflicting interpretations (see Louden (1978) for a similar discussion). In any case, from the interpretations available, pupils (or teachers for that matter) are likely to seek and align themselves with those which are most consistent (or least inconsistent) with their own existing interpretations.

Whether such alliances lead to sub-cultures, oppositional or otherwise, is presumably an empirical question. Some writers who acknowledge that the pupil body is differentiated (Hargreaves 1967; Lacey 1970; Willis 1977) have tended to interpret this as evidence that such groupings have a culture of norms and values which permeate all their school experiences. As another writer points out (Furlong 1976), observation of pupils' interaction in schools indicates that alliances are subject to constant negotiation from among those people who are available in the situation and thus are

by no means composed of the same people all of the time. They are not either, synonymous with friendship groupings. He uses the term 'interaction set' in something like the same way as I have talked of alliances:

> 'By interaction, I mean situations where individuals come to a common 'definition of the situation' by drawing on similar commonsense knowledge, and make common assessments of appropriate action. That is, they 'see' what is happening in the same way and agree on what are appropriate ways to behave in the circumstances'.

As he goes on to suggest one should not take too concrete a view of the process, for:

> 'This does not mean that those interacting will behave in the same way, simply that they behave in a way that can be interpreted by others as showing similar 'definitions of the situation'. Nor do pupils have to 'tell' each other how they see things, for their actions will symbolically tell this to the whole class'. (Furlong, 1976, p.26-27, first emphasis added).

In summary it is exceedingly unlikely that a pupil will find him- or herself confronted by a unified world-view at school and only if s/he were totally unable to discover others with whom to engage in temporary situated alliances would there be a disjunction between primary and secondary socialisation - such disjunctions, then, are not automatic, even for pupils who are ethnically distinct and in a numerical minority.

Nevertheless it is clear that not all interpretations to be found in school are accorded equal value. Differential power attaches to the status 'pupil', 'teacher', 'cleaner' etc., so that it is possible that the interpretation of the more powerful

may prevail, in the sense that the less powerful may have to acknowledge the views of those more powerful than themselves. Acknowledgement does not ensure acceptance, though; behavioural or outward compliance may not be accompanied by the internalisation of the world view of the other. Insofar as pupils have less power than all or some teachers or than some other pupils, they may have to become adept at 'taking notice' without 'taking the attitude' of those who are more powerful. Such mechanisms were discerned during the present study[14] and can be inferred in previous studies (Hargreaves 1967; Keddie 1971; Lacey 1970; Reynolds 1976; Willis 1977) although not analysed as such there. This ability of pupils reflects a degree of sophistication in handling social relationships. With the exception of Reynolds, previous writers have explicitly or implicitly termed this phenomenon conformity (either to teachers' or peer group's norms) which with its overtones of passivity and inevitability is clearly inadequate.

For all these reasons, it is my view that secondary socialisation in school falls far short of indoctrination,[15] for despite self-recruitment and occupational socialisation of teachers their shared perspectives (described in chapters 6 and 7) do not amount to a total value system nor are teachers' values the only ones encountered by pupils.

Thus it is not simply inefficiency which prevents schools from being total institutions; rather it is inherent in their composition

that to varying degrees (depending on the intake of teachers and pupils) schools contain people with more or less different perspectives on the world. So, a preliminary answer to the question - how much does sex matter in school - would seem to be that it matters as much as those in the school consider that it should. Such an answer seems inadequate. In the first place many people at the school studied here (pupils as well as teachers) thought that it was legitimate to differentiate between pupils on the basis of educational considerations (achievement, attitude to work, motivation etc.) but less legitimate to make sex a ground for differentiation. Secondly, such an answer might suggest that schools operate in a vacuum, that what happens inside them is unrelated to the social, economic and political structures of society.

On the other hand to say that sex is salient at school because schools 'mirror society' (where sexual divisions exist) gives no indication of how that mirroring is achieved; as has already been argued it is unlikely that a uniform 'societal view' could exist or be imposed on all pupils and teachers, yet without some such view it is difficult to see how the activities inside school are determined by external constraints in any straightforward linear way.

Earlier sections of this chapter set out ways in which this question can be approached. It was suggested that the processes by which people come to a sense of their own unique identity are the same processes by which they also come to 'know' those groups or categories which are salient in society and the social meanings which

attach to them. In this way the 'personal' and the 'social' are inextricably linked and are not routinely experienced as discrete, for:

> 'The psychological reality of the successfully socialized individual ... verifies subjectively what his society has objectively defined as real. He is then no longer required to turn outside himself for 'knowledge' concerning the nature proper of men and women. He can obtain that result by simple introspection. He 'knows who he is'. He feels accordingly. He can conduct himself 'spontaneously''. (Berger, 1966, p.107).

It will be argued here that all those in school, teachers as well as pupils, will have been attuned through their early socialisation to the salience of sex and its social meanings. Whatever the specific 'coloration' this has for them they will bring to their experience and activities in school their 'knowledge' of sex as a socially constructed category. It is in this way rather than through indoctrination of alien world-views that society is reflected in school and partly through this mechanism that sexual divisions current elsewhere are reproduced in school.

Furthermore, in that the personal and the social are integrated in the individual, teachers and pupils can relate to one another in terms of each other's sex or ethnicity without thereby necessarily violating each other's sense of self or transgressing any beliefs they may have that one should relate to others as individuals. Thus the reproduction of sexual and ethnic divisions is not necessarily perceived as a violent imposition and may even be seen as a positive confirmation of important aspects of the individual identity.

Berger concludes that:

> ' ... the firmly internalized cognitive and emotive structures make it unnecessary or even impossible for [the successfully socialized individual] to reflect upon alternative possibilities of conduct'. (Berger 1966, p.107).

While I have earlier argued that such 'firmly internalized' structures make it difficult (except in specified circumstances) for secondary socialisation to completely overturn perspectives acquired during primary socialisation, it is misleading to assume that the individual is quite unable to reflect on alternative perspectives when s/he is confronted with them. Perspectives acquired during primary socialisation 'may induce a mood of contentment, resignation, bitter resentment, or seething rebelliousness' (Berger and Luckmann 1971, p.151). Where alternative realities are manifested to the individual, as may be the case in school, if her/his primary socialisation has induced a mood other than contentment it seems at least logically possible (albeit psychologically costly) that s/he would reflect upon and maybe come to adopt 'alternative possibilities of conduct' which are less destructive of his/her sense of well-being.[16]

In summary, this thesis will be concerned to examine how sexual divisions are reflected and reproduced within a school. In preparation for so doing I have attempted in this chapter to set out a framework which allows one to see how values and material reality interrelate. The term moral climate is used to indicate that interrelationship. Moral climate with regard to school refers to the wider societal context in which schools exist as well as to those relationships between teacher and teacher, pupil and teacher and pupil and pupil which together create the atmosphere and tone of the working day at school.[17] To an extent these relationships may be understood by reference to

the physical location and setting of the school (Eggleston 1976; Robinson 1976). These features of the school in the present study are described in chapter 3. To an important degree, though, these relationships are grounded in the values which both teachers and pupils bring to their life in school. Such values derive from the material circumstances - in the present case the social class, ethnic and sex-class location - of the actors. This underlines the role of pupils as well as teachers in socialisation processes in the school and is a necessary corrective to much of the work in this area which equates 'school' with 'teachers'; see for example Thomas (1974) and Reynolds (1976). Reynolds describes his study as:

> '... an account of work that is attempting to find out what it is about their schools that makes the difference for their children and what it is about some schools that may make their children different'. (Reynolds, 1976, p.125).

The work starts off promisingly enough and clearly demonstrates that teachers' behaviour to pupils is as much formulated in recognition of pupils' values as arising directly and independently from their own ideas about how pupils in the school 'ought' to behave and be treated. Yet he summerises the work as follows:

> 'This analysis suggests that the school itself is - by the way in which its teachers treat the children in their charge - an important influence on the sort of young people that they turn out to be'. (Reynolds, 1976, p.137).

Sex-class is, of course, only one of many socially meaningful categorisations. Social class and, more recently, ethnic origin, have been categorisations which have received considerable attention by sociologists concerned with education. As recently as 1976 one writer observed:

> 'We know very little about how secondary-school teachers see the differences between boys and girls or how their attitudes affect pupil behaviour: the academic studies have simply not been done'. (Blackstone, 1976, p.211).

Two years later Lobban (1978) published a paper summarising what is known in this area, but almost without exception the research refers to the USA. Sharpe (1976) briefly covered the same ground and also reported research from four London comprehensive schools where she interviewed girls about their experiences in school and future aspirations. Her work also touches on an important area which the present study does not analyse - the role of the mass media in transmitting stereotypes about the sexes. These are the only studies in Britain which have appeared since Blackstone's original conclusion.

I have also implied in this chapter that, despite contributions from such writers as Wrong (1961), Berger (1966 and 1971) and Berger and Luckmann (1971), socialisation continues to be treated in an overdeterministic way in the social sciences. I would suggest that the lack of research on sex differentiation is intimately connected with such an over-determined view of socialisation. With the perspective adopted here - of socialisation as a process in which the individual is actively a part - it is clear that one needs to investigate both the pressures to which people are subject and people's understandings of those pressures. Unger sets out the necessity for such an approach and indicates the attendant difficulties:

> 'The sense individuals attribute to one another's acts is what gives their conduct its distinctly social or human meaning. To disregard this meaning is to neglect an integral part of the experience for which an account is to be given. The relationship between people's self-understanding in everyday life and the theorist's description or explanation of behavior

> brings us up against a riddle ... If we disregard the meanings an act has for its author and for the other members of the society to which he belongs, we run the risk of losing sight of what is peculiarly social in the conduct we are trying to understand. If however, we insist on sticking close to the reflective understanding of the agent or his fellows, we are deprived of a standard by which to distinguish insight from illusion or to rise above the self-images of different ages and societies, through comparison. Thus, subjective and objective meaning must somehow both be taken into account'. (Unger 1976, p.15).

It seems necessary with such a dearth of literature in this area to learn from previous researches on frequently-researched topics in education and to limit the focus of study of the moral climate of school rather than attempt to cover all such aspects. Willis, working from a rather different perspective has published a study in relation to social class which adopts a small scale strategy in order to tease out the processes in and out of school by which 'working class kids get working class jobs' as his book is subtitled. The term case study is used in the present work to underline that it is an exploration in some depth of one relatively delimited aspect of school. Willis falls into the trap of assuming too great a generalisability from his limited researches and his designation of ethnicity and sex as <u>variants</u> of the 'male, white working class counter-school culture' (Willis 1977, p.2) is to say the least a premature presumption. As I hope this chapter will have made clear I do not suggest that sex is some kind of tracer for all other divisions within and outside school. I am not arguing that only sex matters in school nor claiming that only school matters in regard to sex differentiation. I do suggest that sex differentiation is under-researched and consequently handled in a conceptually simplistic way in sociology generally

(Fuller 1978); and that small scale studies of concrete situations adopting a variety of approaches may contribute to a greater understanding of such differentiation.

I decided to limit the present study to an analysis of fifth year pupils[18] at one co-educational, multi-racial comprehensive school. The way in which the study was designed and the specific methods adopted are described in the following chapter.

Notes

1. Sociologists frequently rely on 'psychological' understandings of the sexes, borrowing from the psychological literature in the process. There is now a considerable literature critical of the way psychology presents females and femininity (see, particularly, Weisstein 1969). I have pursued these arguments elsewhere (Fuller 1975; Fuller 1978 - appended to this thesis). See also Ward (1976).

2. Following Wallman (1976) I use the term sex-class to indicate that people are classified at birth as either male or female. 'The term sex class refers therefore to the most fundamental - the reproductive - level of difference between males and females, (and not, in this context, to their hierarchical relations)' (Wallman 1976, p.2) The term sex-class is preferred since 'sex' usually refers to sexual activity.

3. The Social Construction of Reality, p.78-79

4. A Rumour of Angels, p.50-51.

5. One writer gives a fascinating and instructive account of a specific variant of the situation specific nature of gender. In Oman three sex-classes are recognised - male, female and male transsexual. The latter is treated socially as if he were a woman and displays most of the characteristics deemed 'Feminine', though is referred to as 'he'. Any man who becomes a transsexual may become a man again by demonstrating his ability to perform sexual intercourse in the male (active) role with a woman. Men in this society may, apparently, move in and out of the male and transsexual role throughout their life. See Wikan, U., (1977), Man becomes woman: transsexualism in Oman as a key to gender roles, Man, 12, 304-319.

6. In a different context Kohlberg (1967, p.136) stresses that young children's identification with their parents tends to be in terms of general stereotypes of themasculine or feminine role which may be different from the characteristics of their own parents or the division of labour between them.

7. The references cited in this and the following three paragraphs are a small sample from a vast literature. I have tried to include those which are most frequently cited and/or which give a clear exposition of their perspective.

8. This literature emanates almost exclusively from the United States, where according to a number of observers (see, for example Segal 1970 and Wallman 1976) considerable importance is attached to 'achieving, maintaining, demonstrating maleness or femaleness in a way that nobody else does ...' so that

'"American" gender behaviour is characterised by a peculiar compulsion to define, teach, learn and perform it appropriately'. (Wallman, p.11)

9. This exposition is based on Johnson's summary article, (1963), Sex role learning in the nuclear family, Child Development, 34, 319-333. It is quite unclear where fathers' learn their 'expressiveness' since it is not supposed to be part of normal masculine behaviour.

10. That such a view is common can be seen from the large number of studies of black self-esteem undertaken in America. The evidence from these studies until the mid-60's was that on average blacks did have lower self-esteem than whites. These studies are summarised in Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) who also point out that many writers 'often simply assume low self-esteem among blacks as a self-evident, fundamental, and irreducible datum, and proceed from there'. (p.2) With the upsurge of Black Consciousness, studies undertaken since the mid-60's indicate that blacks have higher self-esteem than whites (D. Louden, personal communication). This certainly suggests that the adoption of a derogatory view of the self imposed by the more powerful majority group is by no means automatic, and may hold true only under specified conditions, where (a) there is no alternative interpretation of reality available for the minority group and, (b) where the significant others and significant roles for the minority are drawn from the majority. A similar phenomenon would be expected in relation to the Women's Movement, both in Britain and the USA.

11. That the Black Consciousness movement exists, is of course, testimony to the fact that some black people have internalised the low evaluation of their group which some white people hold and consequently have seen the need to change that consciousness in themselves.

12. Kohlberg (1967), pp.111-123, passim.

13. This is not to deny that school may be treated as an abstraction. Some or all pupils have the notion of school as an institution, as can be seen in comments like 'I hate school', 'school is boring', etc. In some cases this may lead pupils to view school as representing the dominant political order. Nevertheless, when we talk of 'school' having a place in the socialisation of pupils, it is most likely that we are referring to the people and activities which comprise a particular school.

14. The ability to acknowledge other world views without internalising them is an apt description of what researchers who adopt an

ethnographic/anthropological approach hope to achieve. The literature on participant observation recognises the inherent difficulties of doing so, and there is considerable discussion of what is variously known as 'over-rapport' or, more tellingly, 'going native'. For example, six of the thirty two papers in McCall and Simmons (1969) Issues in Participant Observation, deal with this aspect of fieldwork, either in detail or in passing. See the contributions by Becker, Gold, McCall, Miller, Vidich, and Zelditch.

15. The education system has not been notably successful in the one recent attempt at what comes nearest to conscious indoctrination. The once fashionable doctrine that education in a multi-racial Britain meant that schools should be used to assimilate or integrate immigrant pupils into the British way of life, has given way to proposals for education for a multi-racial Britain (Fuller 1976; Tomlinson 1977). That the original formulation was not particularly successful in practice cannot be explained by teachers' incompetence or pupils' boneheadedness (or vice versa); rather the aim - learning to be British - was probably not seen as legitimate by all teachers, or if it was, did not have the same meaning for all of them; any more than that all immigrants (or children of immigrants) see the British way of life as an unalloyed good (see Evans (1971) for black adolescents' views about assimilation). The differing interpretations and evaluations of the aim of assimilation mediated its implementation, indicating that indirect teaching ('rubbing shoulders' as it was conceptualised in Britain, 'osmotic' processes as Ashworth (1975) analyses the Canadian policy) is insufficient to impose an alternative world-view. Obviously direct teaching would have been required to indoctrinate even those who are a minority and who, by reason of age and ethnic membership are almost certainly less powerful than their teachers. In other words minority world-views may be relatively resistant to pressures for change, while supremacy of numbers or power is not sufficient to ensure that one's perspective will prevail.

16. Some such mechanism operates as the basis for 'consciousness-raising' in the Women's Movement.

17. Other writers have talked of the 'climate' of the school. Recent British examples are Banks and Finlayson (1973) chapter 7 and Finlayson (1973), where the school climate is operationalised as teachers' and pupils' perceptions of certain organisational features of the school. It should, perhaps, be stressed at this point that I am not using the term moral to indicate the sexual or ethical standards of either pupils or teachers; nor should it be read as a synonym for character-building or the inculcation of a religious morality. I hope that if its usage has not been sufficiently clarified in the present chapter

subsequent chapters will make my meaning clear. I am indebted to Philip Gammage for pointing out this potential source of misunderstanding.

18. My reasons for selecting this particular age range are discussed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 2

Research Design and Methods

An anthropologist with considerable experience in (American) schools writes:

> 'It is important to recognize an element of appropriateness in selecting among the variety of research techniques, an appropriateness related to individual style, training, resources, and the nature of the problem and the field setting'. (Wolcott 1975, p.122).

In planning the research I was concerned to devise a strategy which would enable me to research the areas in which I was interested in ways which were appropriate to the subject.

The strategy adopted in this study follows from a consideration of the conceptual issues already discussed and from the related decision to work with fifth form pupils in a comprehensive school.

The study was carried out using a combination of observation, participation, formal and informal interviews and the administration of questionnaires together with the collation of documentary evidence from school records of various kinds, in the belief that such a mixture would be more appropriate than reliance on one type of method (whether quantitative or qualitative) alone.

As a consequence of my own previous research experience I would have been unhappy to have relied on traditional quantitative methods (such as a survey using questionnaires, rating scales etc.) as the sole means of data-gathering. To have done so would have been to adopt what Lacey (1976) calls the 'black-box' model of research which:

> 'assumes that in order to demonstrate an effect it was [sic] necessary only to show correlations between inputs and outputs. The contents of the black box, the social mechanisms and process, are neglected and not without cost. At whatever level of generality

> the model is used, societal or institutional, the element of social determinism is extremely strong'. (Lacey 1976, p.56-7: emphasis added).

Two thoughtful and sensitive studies in this tradition which are relevant to the present study (Banks and Finlayson 1973; Dickinson et al 1975) recognise that their findings are not self-explanatory and need some interpretation of processes. The temptation (which these two studies mostly avoid) is to make inferences well beyond what can be legitimately concluded from the data. In doing so the researcher who has explored an area by means of quantitative methods has only his/her own commonsense or logic on which to rely. The pitfalls of resorting to logic and commonsense (taken-for-granted assumptions) with regard to sex-class and ethnicity were discussed in the previous chapter.

If for no other reason, then, I would have wanted to build an element of direct observation into the research design. But such a strategy also recommended itself as a possible means of overcoming the problem of obtaining the willing co-operation of people in the age range selected. Mackay (1973) suggests that:

> 'adult-child interaction is problematic because of cultural differences. Teachers and other adults remain cultural strangers to the world of children, and their interaction with children often results in ... misunderstandings. I have argued on two fronts, first that understanding between two separate cultures requires adequate translation, and, second, that all human interaction rests on the participants' interpretive abilities'. (Mackay 1973, p.31: original emphasis).

While fifteen and sixteen year olds are not strictly 'children' Mackay's point was kept in mind in the planning of this study in which male and female adolescents from ethnic majority and ethnic minority

groups would be involved. He further suggests that:

> 'culturally different persons who are serious about understanding each other spend long periods of time working out the translation problem'. (Mackay 1973, p.42).

and the research was conceived in the spirit of these observations.

My own and others' experience suggested that a degree of suspicion of research in general was to be expected from teenagers (and teachers), but more particularly, that as a white person there would be considerable difficulty in engaging Black teenagers in the study. Existing British research of which I was then aware (Hargreaves 1967; Lacey 1970; Willis, subsequently published in 1977) gave no indication of what effect, if any, my sex would have in obtaining the co-operation of girls and boys, since it was research by men and concerned only with males,[1] and the question of how this affected their research was not reported.

In other words, I believed I would have to work to establish a trust which could not be assumed to exist, before ever I started types of data-gathering which would involve the pupils' participation. A fairly lengthy period of time was thus incorporated into the timetable of research (see Appendix I) during which I would aim to establish myself with the pupils and staff so that data-gathering, of whatever kind, would be a secondary priority. Thus of the two terms spent in the school, the first (approximately 15 weeks) was primarily reserved for this purpose. During that time I observed pupils and teachers in classroom and staffroom and participated as fully as possible in school activities. I began the collation and preliminary analysis of various

school documents (pupils' records, set lists, timetables, school rules, lists of teachers and subjects taught etc.) and started a card index system for recording information about each pupil and teacher.

Only in the second term (approximately 14 weeks) did I plan to ask pupils for their participation in the research. While classroom and staffroom observation continued, I concentrated, in turn, on administering a questionnaire to all students whose parents had given permission - approximately 130; interviewing a selected sample of students (approximately 50); and obtaining students' ratings of themselves as masculine and feminine, using a standard test - the Bem Sex Role Inventory - which again involved about 130 pupils. I continued to keep the daily journal of activities and ideas and the record of observations which had both been started in the first term, as well as maintaining the card index system on teachers and pupils. In particular, information from pupils' school reports was collated during this term.

An integral part of the overall strategy was to report back to pupils and teachers some of the preliminary findings from the research and to this end I arranged to return to the school at the end of the Summer Term, 1976, about three months after fieldwork ceased. Ideally, this would have been a continuing process, but the difficulty and expense of remaining in regular contact with nearly 200 pupils and teachers, many of whom would be leaving the school that summer precluded such a plan.[2]

Finally, all students were sent a postal questionnaire in December 1977,[3] by which time many had left school either for further

education or to try to find work.

A summary description of each research instrument and the documentary evidence on which the study is based is set out below. I then turn to a description of how access to the school was negotiated. The final part of this chapter is an assessment of the strategy and methods employed.

Research Tools

1. Fifth year timetable: used to obtain overall picture of fifth year teaching organisation from which it was possible to sample lessons, in terms of subject.

2. Pupils' individual timetables: obtained from each student. Used to compile lists of teaching sets in order to sample sets in a particular school subject. Analysis of these set lists provides an indicator of sex ratios in teaching groups (see discussion in chapter 9).

3. School records: data from these formed the basis of each student's individual data card. Data recorded: place and date of birth, nationality, date of entry to school, address, measured IQ/attainment at age 11, present school form. Cards (for my own use) were subsequently amended when first questionnaire material became available (e.g. addresses checked from returned permission slips; number of sibs, parental occupation added, etc.). Used throughout the main study and writing up as a constant reference. Also used when despatching second questionnaire to students, and wherever appropriate, data was amended when second questionnaire returned.

4. School reports: the headings 'Social Effort', 'General Assessment' and 'Personal and Social Qualities' appeared on each report form.

Data from these sections was transferred verbatim onto a separate card for each student and is the basis for discussion of teaching values and a typology of students (chapters 6 and 7). Further data (pupil's grades and subject teachers' comments) was obtained for a proportion of students.

5. Staff lists: extracted from folder of documents (school rules, personal timetable, uniform requirements etc.)which each teacher received at the beginning of the Autumn term. Staff list included: names of every teacher, which subject(s) they taught, what position(s) they held in the school (e.g. Head of Department, Head of House, etc.), in which part of the school (upper and/or lower) they taught. This data was transferred to teacher's individual data card and later added to as a result of information obtained during the course of the research (e.g. teacher's marital status, years in the profession, training, etc.). Some of this material appears in chapter 4 while analysis of the lists is the basis of discussions in chapter 5.

6. Daily journal: a record of work planned and achieved, ideas to be followed up, information obtained, discussions etc. Used during fieldwork for periodic assessments of progress of the research, and to suggest new lines of enquiry. Used during writing up, in conjunction with lesson notes and pupil's and teacher's individual data cards to generate and/or check forms of analysis and as a referent point for the findings.

7. Classroom notes: made on a prepared data sheet (a copy of which can be found in Appendix III). Data routinely obtained: number of pupils attending (divided by sex and ethnic group) teacher's name, subject (e.g. French, Maths) and brief summary of lesson content, date and time of day, form/set, any special circumstances which might

affect the observations being made. At various times data collected included seating plans, friendship groups, types of classroom activities, information about a specific student or group of students, descriptions of the classroom. Where appropriate, data was transferred to student's and teacher's individual data cards. Overt use during the period of research was to enable me to acquaint myself with all students and teachers, and later, to provide raw data for generating more precise ideas, following up hunches, etc. Equally important as a prop in the classroom, to convince me that I was using time fruitfully (discussed later). As already indicated, classroom notes are used throughout the thesis to allow checks on inferences drawn from other research instruments, and they specifically form part of chapters 3 and 8.

8. First questionnaire: to gain information about each student's family (size, sex of sibs.), birthplace and parental birthplace; parental occupation. Used to provide accurate data about ethnic origin in order to obtain a sampling frame for the interviews. Data from this questionnaire are used throughout, but most particularly in chapter 4. It was administered to small groups of students (2-6) at a time.[4] A copy of the questionnaire may be found in Appendix III.

9. Second questionnaire: to establish each student's achievement at C.S.E./O level; educational and/or work experience since the time of the main study. It was sent with a stamped addressed envelope for its return to approximately 130 students at their home address. Data from this are incorporated into chapter 10. The questionnaire and accompanying letter may be found in Appendix III.[5]

10. Interview: to explore student's self-concept; conceptions of masculinity and femininity, male and female activities; perceptions of relationships with parents, friends and sibs; percpetions of teachers and pupils; societal expectations of males and females; aspirations and expectations for their future lives (including work, marriage, parenthood). Questions were sometimes linked to questionnaire answers and thus provide a check on them as well as school record data. The interview was semi-structured and tape recorded.[6] A selected sample (approximately 50) of students was interviewed individually for a period of between 40 and 50 minutes.[7] Interview material is quoted at various points, although the analysis of pupils' expectations and values (chapters 8 and 10) particularly relies on it. Throughout it has proved a useful reference and brake to inferences based on other techniques. A copy of the interview topics and suggested questions is included in Appendix III.

11. Bem Sex Role Inventory: used in order to be able to obtain a crude measure, comparable between individuals, of students' sex-typing (self-concept as masculine and/or feminine). Students were asked to 'describe yourself' in terms of 60 adjectives or phrases on a 7 point rating scale. This particular 'test' was chosen in preference to other available masculinity/femininity tests mainly because of ease of administration and interpretation[8]. It was administered to students either on their own or in small groups (2-6 people). Results from the (approximately)130 students are reported in chapter 8, where criticism of the test, as a measure of self-concept, may also be found. A copy of the test, as used in the present study, together with a listing of

the masculine and feminine items are included in Appendix III.

The use of interviewing, questionnaire and rating scale was an integral part of the original research design, as was the decision to wait until I had gained some experience of the particular school and group of students before finalising details of wording, topics to be covered, and, in the case of the Bem Sex Role Inventory, of amendments to be made in format and administration.

The Research Role Adopted

Because of the decision to spend a fairly lengthy period of time in the school to be selected a certain amount of thought had to be put into anticipating difficulties that this might entail for me and for those in the school. Thus early preparation for the project was as much concerned with issues to do with my role in the school[9] as with decisions about the specific instruments to be used for data collection. Wolcott, again, neatly summarises the problem:

> 'In doing research in schools, the widely used technique of participant-observation runs afoul of that organisation's own tradition. There are relatively few formal roles in schools, and the roles available are not necessarily attractive for accomplishing research that must be based on limited rather than on total involvement. Schools do entertain hordes of 'observers' but ... unless one places himself behind a podium, a typewriter, a broom, or the principal's desk, there simply are no other roles ... The only alternative in the school setting appears simply to resign oneself to becoming an observer. So - be an observer! Perhaps in time one can find additional avenues for enlarging one's perspective'. (Wolcott 1975, p.122).

In other words, it is nearly impossible to adopt a fruitful covert participatory role in a school and even as an observer one will be relatively visible. Consequently, some account will need to be given to pupils and staff for one's presence in the school. If one attempts to engage in undercover research this account will have to be plausible

and partly or wholly untrue. After considering the issues involved[10] my clear preference was to give an account which was truthful so that in attempting to gain entry I would try to state openly and fully what the research focus was, what I would be doing, and so on. This would, I hoped, facilitate the selection of a suitable research location and prevent the need for sustaining a series of partial truths during fieldwork. I thought it as important to adopt this strategy with the pupils and staff who would be involved as with those (L.E.A. officers and school Head) who had more obvious power to grant access. Where the role 'researcher' is adopted (as I have suggested it more or less has to be in a school) it may be that people will systematically slant what they say and do to take account of what they think the research is about. This being the case, it is as well to try to ensure that everybody 'knows' the same things about the research. I do not see that any greater bias is introduced by telling the same true story than a number of different or the same partially true stories. Nor does the adoption of a covert role (where that is appropriate) entirely overcome this problem of bias. People will still try to make sense of one's presence and slant their behaviour according to who and what they think one is.

Discussion and negotiation were, then, an integral part of the overall research strategy and for this reason the next section deals with this aspect of the project. It can be divided into discussions with administrators directed at gaining entry to a suitable school; and, secondly, the more long-term negotiations with teachers and pupils in the school selected.

Gaining Access

During May 1975[11] I made my first approaches to the L.E.A. of two outer London boroughs and was given appointments for June. In the first borough my interview with the Education Adviser was brief and simply resulted in my obtaining permission to approach the head teacher of whichever schools I might choose. After discussions with staff at the borough's Teacher's Centre, some of whom were already known to me, I wrote to the Heads of two suitable comprehensive schools and obtained interviews with, in one case, the fifth year Tutor, and in the others, the Deputy Head. In the second borough my interview with the Director of Education was lengthy and resulted, after much discussion about what would be suitable schools, in appointments being made for me with the heads of such schools. In each case in this borough I discussed the work with the Head teacher.

Before each interview at L.E.A. or school level I sent the person concerned a brief summary of the research proposal (a copy of which can be found in Appendix II)[12]. The purpose of each of these visits was two-fold; firstly to elaborate and explain the research, indicating the potential problems for staff and pupils which the kind of access I was seeking might create; and further, to discuss the ways in which these problems might be dealt with or avoided. Secondly, I wanted to obtain certain kinds of information about the school e.g. organisation of fifth year teaching, in order to judge whether the school would be a suitable location, and as well, to assess the potential 'sponsor' or 'sponsors' of the research. At the time it seemed to me that I was asking a great deal of the school in wanting to be there

for an extended period of time, working intensively and not acting as a teacher nor in any other capacity which might be of use to the staff or pupils. For this reason it seemed likely that in order to gain worthwhile access (i.e. which did not unduly restrict my freedom of manoeuvre or place gross restrictions on the type of contact with pupils or the type of students I could work with) I would need to obtain positive backing for my research.

The necessity for, and the attendant problems of 'sponsors' are much discussed in the literature relating to participant observation (see Dean et al 1969: Kahn and Mann 1952; McCall and Simmons 1969; Rainwater and Pittman 1969). It is suggested that the person initially sought to help the researcher to enter the field should be well-placed in terms of seniority and/or be well-regarded by others in the organisation in order to provide an entrée and facilitate the early days of participation and observation.

> 'Effective sponsorship serves to vouch for the observer's character, worth and ability as ratified by a respected insider and thus simplifies the subjects' definitional task'. (McCall and Simmons 1969, p.30).

On the other hand it is recognised that the original sponsor may prove inappropriate for the entire period of research so that a succession of sponsors may need to be negotiated at different stages. The choice of sponsor is thought to affect the degree of active co-operation or mere compliance of others in the organisation.

Negotiating access to do research in schools is relatively straightforward and in a sense the researcher's 'choice' of initial sponsor is dictated by established etiquette. That is, it is normal

to first contact the L.E.A. and then to negotiate with the Head(s) of the chosen school(s). At either stage the negotiations may be delegated to someone lower than the most senior officer, but the route is essentially the same. This does not leave the researcher entirely powerless to exercise choice, however, and I decided that if sponsorship were such a vital feature of the research it was best to ensure some degree of choice by the way I approached the potential sponsors.

For this reason I contacted two L.E.A.s rather than one and also took the decision that I would find it easier to assess these 'sponsors' by explaining fully what the research was about and what it would demand of the school participating. I considered it would be possible, from the type of questions raised and the ensuing discussion, to assess how much the project was understood and the degree to which it interested the sponsor. Otherresearchers might choose to gain entry in other ways and this method is discussed here only since it may be thought to affect the outcome of the research.

I did not feel that I could promise any short-term benefit to anyone as a result of their participation in the project as I could see none for them. I imagined this would be one, if not the major, hurdle in persuading those with power to grant entry to do so. In the event this was a much more minor consideration.[13] I encountered Directors and Advisers in the two boroughs who were sufficiently well-versed in research to ask penetrating questions about it and to appreciate my research strategy. They were, at the same time, confident enough in 'their' schools that they were not automatically defensive about a researcher requesting entry to them.[14] They appeared to welcome and

approve rather than interpret as a disadvantage my request for two terms in a school.[15]

After these preliminary discussions I rejected the first L.E.A. contacted, partly on the basis that in both schools organisation of the 5th year was not particularly convenient for my purposes, but equally because the persons deputed to consider my application fell short of what I hoped to find in a sponsor. In one case, the need for promising confidentiality was not considered legitimate, so that onerous restrictions would have been imposed as a condition of entry. In the other case, and despite my best efforts, the teacher who interviewed me, could not be moved from his understanding that I would be asking pupils only about their sex lives, and it was as such that he introduced me to several of his colleagues during lunch. No matter whether this was a genuine misunderstanding or a sophisticated ploy to dissuade me from working in the school it did not seem a propitious start. I would appear to have failed to 'teach the subjects what the role of 'researcher'is' (McCall and Simmons 1969, p.43), or at any rate to impress on this teacher how I envisaged the present study.

In the second borough both the Director of Education and the Heads to whom I spoke appeared to more readily grasp what the project was about and what it would entail for them. They also seemed to appreciate the reasons why I was proposing to do the work in the way that I had decided. Finally, they were <u>interested</u> in the project, a factor which I thought would probably be of help during the fieldwork, and, just as importantly, in the dissemination of my findings. It cannot be ruled

out that my decision to work in this rather than the first borough was partly to do with my pleasure at finding such an interest in the work, but I make no apologies for that. It is possible that choosing to work in an organisation where at least one person was interested introduced equally great (if different) biases as could be expected in a locale where the work was initially misunderstood.

Continuing Negotiations

I was extremely fortunate in the choice of school and sponsors. The Head examined me conscientiously about my intentions, but hardly at all about what I forsaw as the short or long term benefits for staff and pupils if he should grant me entry. In the event the Head was presumably convinced that my intentions were 'honourable' and indeed he justified his decision to allow me access by saying that 'it could only do good to have another adult who isn't a teacher around the school asking questions and getting pupils to think about things' (approximately). At this interview we went step by step through my proposed timetable so that he should have a clear picture of the shape of the research and how the classroom observation, interviewing and questionnaires fitted into the scheme, both conceptually and in terms of time.

I was not willing to rely on one sponsor to get the research off the ground, though this is not meant as any adverse comment on the Head, since I had previously decided that it was essential to explain my presence in the school honestly to both staff and pupils. Ethics and efficacy in this regard happen to coincide. Accordingly, I asked to be given time

to explain my work to staff before I actually began so that they could ask questions and so that I would be aware of their qualms and, if I had a means of overcoming them, to explain how.

Discussions with teachers.

I was able to discuss the work with all teachers who attended an ordinary staff meeting for those who taught in the senior part of the school (where the research was to be carried out). Such meetings were held regularly throughout the term and were chaired by the Head.[16] The meeting took place a few days before the pilot study began.[17] A number of questions was raised concerning the ethics of the research and, specifically, the issue of pupils' and parents' permission regarding participation. (I had previously discussed this with the Head since it is a central issue in observational studies. I had indicated that I would wish to write to the parents of every pupil who would be in the sample, requesting permission for their child to take part in the study). When this question was raised the Head stated his position as follows: there was no question of requiring permission from parents to allow me to observe and participate in normal school activities. As Head he was empowered to decide who could be allowed into the school, while he and the staff decided what went on in the school. All pupils up to the age of 16 were required to attend school and, whether I was there or not, pupils would be having lessons and going about their lives in school. As I was not asking for normal school routine to be interrupted he and the staff could give me permission to attend such activities. He would rely on the professional expertise of the staff to decide for themselves whether they would allow me to take part in their classes and to exclude

me if they had any worries that my presence was affecting their or the pupils' ability to go about their ordinary tasks.[18] The question of parental permission arose in relation to anything else I might wish to do which could not be regarded as a normal and expected part of a pupil's attendance. Thus permission from parents would be required for a pupil to fill in a questionnaire or be interviewed. This formulation was agreed.

At the meeting I tried to cover a number of areas. Firstly, to introduce myself, giving some information about my work history which I hoped would establish my credentials. For example I explained where I was employed as a sociologist, that I had previously done research in schools in Bristol on a project which was not, however, concerned with education, before that I had done research in the area of undergraduate education, that my teaching experience was limited to a short period in an inner city Junior school and more recently to undergraduate and adult classes. I made it clear that I would not be teaching in the school, nor was I qualified to do so. Next I gave a brief resume of what the research was about and how I should be doing it so that they might grasp what I would be doing in the classroom and why I wanted to spend so much time there. With regard to the latter I explained this as wanting to get to know pupils, giving them a chance to know me, trying to understand what life was like at school, etc. I assured them that the focus was on the pupils not teachers and therefore I would not be trying to assess their (teachers') performance in the classroom.[19] In addition I gave assurances that I would try to avoid disrupting their routine unnecessarily. Thus in the early stages when I would be simply attending lessons I did not expect nor would want them to interrupt their normal teaching routine to take account of my presence - I would fit in to the class as

best I could. At the later stages when pupils were to be interviewed and asked to complete questionnaires these would be done during non-teaching school time (i.e. morning break and lunch-times); no-one would be asked or required to release pupils from their lessons.[20] Finally I made it clear that I would be giving an explanation of the work and the reasons for my presence in school to all pupils who would form the sample for the study.

Undoubtedly much of this information was redundant; equally obviously most teachers did not take much of it in to their own satisfaction, for subsequently, at the pilot stage and throughout the main study teachers continued to approach me to be reminded what the research was about. None ever came up during lessons to sneak a glance at my note-taking or ever referred in class, to the fact that I was taking notes. Teachers' questions about the project arose during lunch or at various times throughout the day in the staff rooms or corridors.

A day before the Autumn term (and the main period of fieldwork) began I attended a second staff meeting, this time chaired by the Deputy Head, attended by all Heads of Department and whose purpose was to bring together all members of staff new to the school that term. Rather more briefly than at the previous meeting, I again explained my presence in the school, but limited my explanations more to the practical implications for them as teachers than to raising the ethical and conceptual problems which had been discussed at the earlier staff meeting.

On reflection and subsequent discussion with teachers it seems that, apart from any inherent good-will towards me and/or the research, three

issues helped to obtain the active co-operation rather than passive compliance of virtually all relevant staff. In the first place, that the Head actively sponsored and interceded on my behalf; as I later found out, despite differences of opinion among the staff and between Head and teachers, staff respected him and his judgement. I was not at the time aware that a significant minority of the staff were what might be categorised politically as 'active radical left'. My insistence on a non-teaching role[21] apparently accorded with their strong professional, trade union principles and averted any potential difficulties that might have arisen with these teachers over my role in the school. There were a number of occasions subsequently when teachers were absent, when I might have otherwise been called on as an 'extra pair of hands'. To what extent this can be attributed to a highly developed sense of professional expertise and/or boundary maintenance among the radical teachers specifically or most teachers in general I am not sure. But certainly I was never once asked to stand in, a potential problem which had exercised me at the planning stage since I wanted to avoid, as far as possible, being prematurely categorised by pupils as a teacher.

Thirdly, <u>because</u> I was going to be in the school so long teachers felt confident that not only they, but I also, would have to live with any adverse consequences my presence created.

I presume that this indicates that I gained the trust of teachers sufficiently that they were prepared to have me in their classes in spite of their uncertaintly of the details of the research. A less flattering interpretation is that I so impressed them with my innocuousness at this

first meeting and by my subsequent activities in their classes that they felt no need to exclude me. It is quite likely that both interpretations have something to recommend them.

Negotiations with the pupils

If I was unwilling to rely on the Head as a sponsor and spokesman for the research to staff, I was equally reluctant that the research be explained to students by their teachers. Again, this should not be read as any criticism of the staff. One of the most difficult aspects of school to assess in relatively brief visits is the general state of relationships between students and teachers. If the school had been characterised by widespread and generally high levels of hostility towards teachers it would probably have been unproductive to have been identified with the teaching staff.

Relying on staff to interpret the research to pupils might have so identified me.

Thus my first two days in the pilot were spent in getting to know the layout of the school, cracking the mysteries of the timetable so that I understood the various combinations of compulsory and elective subjects and from which classes sets were drawn, but, most importantly, in talking to students in their class groups about the research. There were five classes involved in the research, which I visited in turn. On the first day I talked to one class at morning registration and another at afternoon registration. The first 'lesson' of the second day was a form period i.e. a period when students remained in their classrooms with their form teacher, but there was no formal teaching taking place.

This time was sufficient for me to talk to two classes. The remaining class was contacted at afternoon registration that day. In this very brief period of time (10-15 minutes) I tried to cover:

what the research was about: that I wanted to find out what people of their age were thinking about various issues, including what they thought boys and girls or men and women could or could not do, what they should or should not do, and so on; secondly,

my credentials: here I made it clear that I was a researcher at Bristol University, that I was 'being paid to do the research' and that I was not a student teacher. I mentioned that I had done research before in Bristol schools, but that I was not a teacher and would not be teaching in this school; and, thirdly, the

timetable for the project and how the research would be done: it seemed important to say how long I would be in the school, to let students know that I would be attending their lessons throughout the project and that my main aim in this was to give me a chance to get to know them and what school was like and to indicate that this would give them a chance to ask me questions about myself and the research. I also mentioned that I would in the future want to interview some of them, but that in any case they would all have a chance to give me their opinions in a questionnaire. I also emphasised that their parents would receive a letter from me, telling them about the research and asking their permission for them (the students) to take part in the project, but I also emphasised that even if parents agreed I would nevertheless ask each student's permission so that they could refuse if they wanted. I

tried to emphasise, in other words, that students were not required to take part in the project, that their voluntary co-operation was sought and that no sanctions would fall on those who chose not to take part. While reminding them that I would be around for them to ask me whatever questions they had, I left time in this first meeting for questions to be raised. Three main areas emerged at this point - clarification that I wasn't a teacher or youth employment officer; wasn't I 'really' interested in whether they behaved themselves in class; was I 'from the truancy' (i.e. an education welfare officer)?

At this point in the research (pilot study) I was not yet conversant with the nature of pupil-teacher relations in the school and as already said was concerned not to be automatically linked with the teaching staff. This made me worried about any form of contact which would seem to indicate that I might be a teacher-standing in front of a whole class to talk to them as a group seemed to be such an activity and for this reason I had to weigh that potential disadvantage against the advantage of briefly informing everyone, especially the reserved or hostile who were unlikely to make individual approaches to me for information about the project.

Although it became obvious that the general tenor of relationships between pupils and teachers was amicable or neutral I nevertheless continued to avoid talking to students in this way. At the beginning of the Autumn term when fieldwork proper began, I again went to see each class to remind them that I would be in the school for the next two terms and to ask each pupil to make a duplicate of their individual timetables

"so that I know who is in which set and when everybody is having what subject". This request was quite genuine, in that student's timetables were used during fieldwork for this purpose and to check against teacher's set lists.[22] However, the timetables also served the function stressed by Dean et al (1969):

> "As a first research step the field worker should have in mind some rather routine fact-gathering that makes sense to those in the field. This will provide him with an acceptable reason for contacting people where he wants to work". (Dean et al, 1969, p.69: original emphasis).

Since both pupils and teachers knew that I would be attending a sample of lessons each day such a request fits the definition of 'routine fact-gathering which makes sense' to both groups.

The third occasion when I spoke to students as a form-group was on the last day of the main period of fieldwork, when I briefly visited each form to give formal thanks for their help and to remind them that I would be returning during the summer term to talk to them about some of the preliminary findings of the research.

The section which follows briefly indicates my attempts to report back to pupils and teachers.

Reporting Back

It was customary at the school to hold a fifth form 'summer conference', immediately after the last O level examinations. Staff admitted that one of the reasons for arranging such a conference was to encourage pupils to remain at school until the end of term rather than to drift away once their exams were completed. Nevertheless some considerable effort was put in to providing a varied programme of local speakers and those with a national reputation (e.g. M.P.s).

Before finishing fieldwork at Easter I had asked for some means of discussing the research with fifth year pupils who had been involved in it, and so it was arranged that I should speak to them during this conference. Approximately seventy of them were expected to attend. On the day, however, the speaker arranged for the other fifth year pupils failed to arrive and so I found I was talking to all fifth year pupils, not just those who had formed the research sample. However I had, for a fortnight, attended lessons with these other pupils and had been fairly frequently approached by them during fieldwork to be asked for explanations of what I was doing.

Thus, most of the 150 plus pupils assembled in the school hall had some idea of what the research was about, but I found trying to report back to such a large group less than satisfactory. My plan had been to give a brief rundown of work in hand; to explain the ideas behind the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) and then report preliminary findings from their answers to it; and finally to divide pupils into smaller groups to discuss certain issues regarding the BSRI.

Preliminary analysis of the BSRI suggested it was working less as a measure of self-concept than as a measure of knowledge and/or subscription to a set of culture-specific notions of sex-appropriate characteristics. I hoped to explore this interpretation with the students and had prepared two separate versions of the BSRI, one listing the words/phrases in their sequence in the test and the second listing them in terms of Bem's definitions of them as masculine, feminine and socially desirable/ undesirable. Using these separate lists it would be possible to ask students to indicate which items (on the first format) they considered masculine, which feminine, and then to compare their ideas with Bem's

formulation (using the second format). By doing this in groups I hoped to encourage some discussion as to why some students disagreed with Bem's definition and perhaps also with others in their group. Since students had themselves previously completed the BSRI schedule I did not expect such an exercise would be too abstract or 'academic' for them.

By dividing the expected seventy students and four teachers into groups, it might have been possible to achieve something worthwhile; as it was, the audience had to be divided into 6 groups of 20 plus, each with a teacher, and this number precluded particularly fruitful discussion. However, the groups went off to various parts of the school, to fill in the forms and to discuss. Each teacher was given copies of the second listing to distribute when students had gone through the first. Each group was asked to appoint someone to keep a tally of how many people agreed with Bem's definitions of masculine and feminine items so that the group could report back later.

When we reconvened there was much hilarity and some barracking as the 'rapporteurs' tried to give some idea of the consensus or lack of consensus in their group. It would be hopeful to call this final session a useful discussion: one tentative view, receiving some support, emerged. This was that if they (students) did not agree about which items were feminine, which masculine, then probably the BSRI was silly. Such an assessment was not, I would argue, a totally damning one, since it was also regarded as 'interesting'.

The meeting, which lasted about an hour and a half, could not be said to have achieved all that I had set out to do, but nor was it an entirely useless exercise. There was time later in the day to talk to

some students much less formally and to answer more questions about the research.

On the same day, after school, I attended a staff meeting of those who taught in the senior part of the school. I attempted to indicate certain aspects of people's family circumstances which previous research had suggested were relevant to the development of 'appropriate' gender behaviour and attitudes. I then indicated the frequency of these aspects - separation from parents in early childhood, family size, sex of siblings, social class, etc. - among students in the sample, before reporting the spread of sex-typing among them. It may be thought that such information would be too abstract and insufficiently 'problem-oriented', but observation of teachers in the staffroom indicated that discussion of equally academic subjects was quite routine (though by no means the only type of teacher communication).

On reflection I would, however, approach reporting back to teachers differently, since what I discussed, although it did not name individual pupils, could be seen as 'guilty knowledge'. As Delamont (1976b)points out:

> 'Society gives teachers the right of access to what we can call 'guilty knowledge' about pupils. School staff are allowed, or expected, to have access to information about pupils which is not publicly available: IQ scores or reading ages, other teachers' opinions and marks, confidential medical and family data, and so forth'. (Delamont 1976b, p.57).

Such knowledge about teachers is not commonly or routinely available to pupils.

In these circumstances, it would probably have been preferable to have talked about those aspects of the research which dealt with

teachers themselves, as for example, the content analysis of school reports which provides information about teaching values (see chapter 6).

A report, summarising the methods of analysis and main findings of the study is being prepared and will be sent to all pupils and staff who were involved in the project, as the final stage of reporting back.

Assessment and Limitations of the Research Design and Methods

Initially when planning the research I had treated the research location as relatively unproblematic and had concentrated on the need to obtain a reasonable cross section of the three ethnic groups in the relevant age group required by the research. Aware of some of the difficulties in justifying to other sociologists the choice of school for work of this kind (these difficulties are rehearsed in the following chapter) I nevertheless assumed that 'school' was a relatively unproblematic research location.

The decision (made for a variety of reasons already discussed) to 'hang around', to 'wait and see' fairly quickly introduced tensions. Firstly, it became necessary for me to try to understand the organisation in which this 'hanging around' took place and not to treat it as a relatively unimportant, neutral locale in which the 'real' work of the project happened to be taking place. Consequently I began to realise the need to incorporate into the research an analysis of some aspects of it which appeared to be related to the research concern (see the analysis in chapters 3 and 5). Secondly, there were anxieties about the appropriateness and balance of the research design. Specifically I found it difficult to keep sight of the original purpose of the observational and participative period at the beginning of the project, and became uncertain about whether 'just hanging around' was a legitimate and

sufficient activity. I constantly felt that I ought to have something more concrete (copious notes of the minutiae of pupil-pupil and pupil-teacher interactions, for example) to show for the time spent. At times I was tempted to discard altogether any idea of using formal research techniques such as questionnaires or 'proper' interviews in favour of a more thoroughgoing ethnography. At other times I would consider shortening the period of 'doing nothing very much' in order to get started on the more structured and clear-cut data-gathering. Similar tensions are described by another writer:

> The feeling develops very vividly at times that the real action, the real social drama is going on somewhere else. While you are in the staffroom there are important discussions in the headmaster's study; while you observe 3A, a really critical series of lessons is being taught in the room next door. The root of this feeling is in the nature of one's task. The participant observer records as accurately as possible selected aspects of the everyday life of people in everyday situations. There is rarely anything dramatic, there is rarely anything of outstanding interest taking place. Classrooms can be incredibly boring places. The interest in the situation emerges as the observer puts together the pieces of an amorphous and intricate puzzle in which even the pieces are not defined. Until this is done the tensions and strains on the researcher are considerable and the 'it is all happening somewhere else' syndrome flourishes'. (Lacey 1976, p.58).

While I was not engaged in a strictly participant observation study, the strategy adopted during the first term of research nevertheless induced a very strong feeling that I somehow ought to be making a great deal better use of my time.[23] In regard to this, I recognised early on that my note-keeping activities in the classroom served other functions than the overt ones of helping me to match pupils' faces and names; building up information about students' and teachers' classroom activities; establishing friendship patterns among pupils, etc. Prime among these other functions was that it gave me <u>something to do</u>, which sometimes helped to alleviate my concern about how to justify (to myself) time

spent 'hanging around'.[24]

That I stuck to my original intentions, gathering what other materials as I could as a second priority is reflected in the undoubted holes in the following chapters. Where I am conscious of them I indicate the partial nature of the material. I did not set out to write an ethnographic account of one school, or even of that part of the fifth year who were involved in the research, but I have adopted an ethnographic approach to aspects of the research, and found some stimulus in the types of ethnographic literature which McCall and Simmons (1969) drew together. Nor have I inadvertently achieved an ethnography, for:

> 'A deceptively simple test for judging the adequacy of an ethnographic account is to ask whether a person reading it could subsequently behave appropriately as a member of the society or social group about which he has been reading, or, more modestly, whether he can anticipate and interpret what occurs in the group as appropriately as its own members can'. (Wolcott, 1975, p.112).

A number of decisions precluded it ever hoping to achieve the status of a full ethnographic account - foremost among which was the milieux. In the knowledge that much important social interaction and the occasional emotional crisis take place, for example, in the lavatories and washrooms of school, I nevertheless made an early decision that this would not be an area where I would attempt to pursue the research. This decision was made partly in recognition of students' right to one place where they would not be pursued by a research, but equally because the ambiguities of a female hanging around the boys' lavatories seemed more than my ingenuity could overcome. In this respect,

what could not be done in relation to one sex was not done for either. The important limitations which this decision imposes on the scope and range of the research findings has been underlined when discussing the research with teachers in various parts of the country.

Even with hindsight it is difficult to say how much this type of approach was necessary to obtaining the very active co-operation of students and teachers; how far it merely made the research that much easier and pleasanter to carry out than it might otherwise have been; or, indeed, how far it hindered and prolonged what could have been a much briefer time commitment to the school. For example, the method of establishing a relationship with pupils was, with some exceptions, rather passive on my part, so that I would wait until students themselves made a first approach. It may have been possible to have started to make moves earlier than I did, but I was conscious that one of the things which, for pupils, defines a teacher's position is the teacher's right to challenge and ask questions of pupils however unknown to each other they may be. Trying to avoid being defined as a teacher meant more than simply not teaching or standing before pupils in the teacher's place at the front of the classroom. On the other hand, it took some time to get to know some pupils and the way in which the relationship was struck up might be quite unpredictable,[25] as Janes (1969) also points out.

The possible reasons for teachers' active co-operation have already been discussed. I am convinced that three factors were crucial in obtaining such co-operation from pupils. Firstly the decision to inform pupils myself about what the research dealt with and what I was

doing at each stage of the research. Secondly, the early and unexpected opportunity to demonstrate what was meant by confidentiality (see note 22). But possibly most importantly, the fact that students were not in any way compelled to take part and were given the option of not participating in the knowledge that no sanctions could or would be brought to bear on them if they exercised that choice. There were no particular benefits accruing to a pupil for participating. But I think it is fair to say that equally there were no special advantages in not participating. Since nothing would happen to them if pupils chose not to participate, non-participation could not readily enhance a pupil's standing in the eyes of her/his peers, because it was hardly a decision which cocked a snook at authority. These factors, I would argue, all played a part in ensuring that a wide range of pupils, from the most school-oriented to the relatively disaffected saw fit to talk to me and to co-operate when asked to take part in interviews or filling in questionnaires.[26]

I encountered many difficulties in the course of this research, many of them to be attributed to my own too-narrow formulations and understandings and to carrying out research designed in the way described. I never overcame a feeling of unease with my role, but this was not due to hostility or ambivalence about research as an activity or the research focus as such, on the part of pupils or teachers. Rather it related to the discomfort of being, in some senses, a supernumerary in an organisation in which time is well-regulated and roles are relatively clear-cut. There were, however, long periods after the initial discomfort on all sides, when I was made to feel welcome and a part of the school.

Finally, I believe that the overall approach allowed a corrective and check on the more positivistic methods and data used. Participation and observation also led me to see ways of employing and analysing forms of data which can be found in any school (and hence are accessible to teachers, if they should choose to follow up ideas from the present research) but whose very ordinariness does not make them immediately obvious as promising research tools.

Notes

1. I later came across a paper by Wallman (1974) in which she considers the relevance of a female's sex-class in carrying out anthropological research. She concludes that no clear and systematic conclusions can be made. Late in 1975, however, a paper appeared which concluded that research (in this case by women) with girls was virtually impossible: '... girl culture, from our preliminary investigations, is so well insulated as to operate to effectively exclude not only other 'undesirable' girls - but also boys, adults, teachers and researchers'. (McRobbie and Garber 1975, p.222). I believe this is an unnecessarily pessimistic viewpoint; see McRobbie 1978, Sharpe 1976 and Ward 1976, for example.

2. All pupils and teachers who took part in the project will be sent a summary report during 1978.

3. Some reports were missing from the school filing system, but more importantly a week's absence from the school (due to illness) meant that I was unable to collate all information from all students' school reports. I had to make a decision about which information was most important. I collected from reports all available data which would be used in analysing teachers' perception of pupils. Consequently data on students' grades in school subjects were collected for only a proportion of students. For this reason I decided to send each student a questionnaire at a future date when they would have completed their O level and C.S.E. exams. All students took some C.S.E. or O levels in the summer of 1976, but as it was customary to take some again and/or attempt new C.S.E. or O levels at the end of the sixth year at school (i.e. summer 1977) I delayed sending the questionnaire until after they would have received their results from these exams. I decided to send the questionnaire as near to Christmas as possible in the hope that the macimum number of students would be at their parental address at that time.

4. The questionnaire was not piloted. Wording and format were discussed with D. Griffiths, R. Miles and A. Phizacklea, for whose help I am grateful. As I was always present when students completed the questionnaire infelicitous wording or ambiguities could be readily clarified.

5. Wording and format were checked prior to giving the questionnaire a small pilot in Bristol, using 14 year old students. I am grateful to A. Antonelli, A. Phizacklea, R. Miles and J. Rosser for their help at this stage.

6. I should like to thank A.K. Brah, V.S. Khan, A. Phizacklea, R. Miles and S. Wallman for their useful discussions when I was planning the schedule. F. Boyd and J. Marnoch both helped with the practice interviews, in which the main aim was to check the length of time the interview took. Finally I should like to thank B. Hall, S. Pegg and S. Whitmore who transcribed the interview tapes.

7. The students interviewed individually were divided as follows:

	Girls	Boys	Total
Asian	6	8	14
West Indian	8	8	16
White British	11	10	21
'Other'	0	1	1
Total	25	27	52

One interview (with a white British girl) failed to record and so a substitute was interviewed. Total usable interviews is thus 51.

8. A very full assessment of available masculinity/femininity (MF) tests can be found in Smith (1977). Unlike other MF tests the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) yields a score for both masculinity and femininity for each person. At the time when the decision as to which test to employ was being made the BSRI seemed to be the best available. Being only recently devised its vocabulary, for example, was less dated than in some other tests. The test is described in Bem (1974) and a revised scoring manual became available in 1976 (Bem and Watson 1976). The manual is clear and contains a suggested computer program for analysing test results. Certain adaptations were made: for greater ease of completion the test was presented as a rating scale requiring only a tick by each word or phrase, whereas the test as reported by Bem requires a number, corresponding to a point on the scale, to be written in. Originally devised for American undergraduates and seen as appropriate for late adolescents or adults, its vocabulary was expected to prove difficult for many of the students at the school. Accordingly a glossary of meanings was prepared in advance and referred to when students encountered difficulties (A copy is attached, in Appendix III). A further refinement was to provide space for students to write in up to 5 further words or phrases to describe themselves. These are not included in the analysis for sex-typing. As is customary, students were given prior practice in the use of the test, using examples not included in the test proper. (Instructions and practice examples can be found in Appendix III). I should like to record my thanks to I. Carr for advice and encouragement in analysing the BSRI.

9. Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1976) both discuss this aspect of their work in schools. The question of research role is commonly discussed in literature concerned with participant observation - see Gold (1969) for example.

10. It is possible that something more than expediency is involved in the decision by other researchers to see their work as an under-cover operation - a definition of good research as synonymous with 'catching people out'. To illustrate this tendency a recent example will be taken. Sharp et al (1975) gave to teachers the following explanation of their research: 'We made it clear that our aim was to observe children in their work groups and their spontaneous social organization, where it occurred. In doing this, we underplayed our interest in the activities of the teacher in the social organization of the classroom'. (p.229). Their subsequent analysis relates largely to the latter aspect, but by having 'underplayed' their interest they failed to realise the potential for examining, with teachers, the extent to which they (teachers) are already aware of what are presented as the researchers' main conclusions, viz the paradoxes of holding a child-centred educational philosophy which nevertheless 'produce effects very similar to the hierarchical differentiation of pupils characteristic of formal methods' (p.vi): Thus their summary: 'that the child centred educator, with his individualistic, voluntarist, and psychologistic solution to the problem of freedom fails to appreciate the ways in which, even in hiw own practice, the effects of a complex, stratified industrial society penetrate the school'. (p.viii): may be correct, but there is no evidence that any attempt was made (or could be, given their initial representation of the research) to establish that such ignorance actually characterised the teachers, rather than simply being assumed from the start. This assumes the primacy of what the researcher 'knows' over what those being researched 'know'. To deny teachers and pupils knowledge of one's purpose may be more convenient in ensuring a bigger sample, but it precludes people making an informed decision about whether to participate and from exercising their right to not participate if they were to know what the research is 'really' about. Finally, there would seem to be a hidden (political) assumption that somehow the researcher has a greater right to knowledge - in this case to all manner of information about pupils' and teachers' lives in school - than does the 'subject' with regard to the research or researcher(s).

11. A time-table for the research may be found in Appendix I.

12. As will be seen by comparing this research outline with the project as carried out, certain aspects of the work altered as a result of these discussions. The most radical change was to enlarge the sample size from approximately 40 (one school form) as originally envisaged to over 140 (5 such forms). This decision, made in conjunction with the Head of the school selected is fully explained in the next chapter (see footnote 3).

13. Directors of Education and Education Advisers are, perhaps, more used to such requests and are more cynical or realistic about the 'benefits' of research - short- or long-term - than those who do the research.

14. They pointed out that most London schools have a steady stream of student teachers and visitors so that staff and pupils alike are used to seeing adults other than permanent staff in the school.

15. It may be that too often in the past educational researchers have spent too little time in schools, using the school as a useful location for their purposes but apparently giving no recognition to the particularities of the school, its staff or pupils. If this is the case it suggests that a researcher prepared to 'muck in' may be more welcome, even when this entails greater potential upheaval to normal school life.

16. I was subsequently free to attend any such meetings though was not required to do so.

17. This part of the research took place in July 1975 and lasted two weeks. My main aim was to test the feasibility of the plans for classroom observation and participation; to try out and amend a simple note sheet for writing down notes during lessons; and to begin to acquaint myself with the general running of the school.

18. In the event only one teacher asked me not to attend her lessons with one particular set, for a fortnight towards the end of the Autumn term. This meant I was unable to attend two lessons which I had planned to observe. As soon as this teacher felt she had re-established a working relationship with pupils in this set she made it clear that I was free to continue to observe her lessons with this group. It should be noted that the teacher in question taught two sets of fifth year pupils in the present sample. Her request for me to not attend lessons with the first set mentioned did not extend to the other set whom I continued to observe uninterupted.

19. This is one minor reason why, in trying to discuss the teachers' attitudes towards and expectations of different categories of pupil (chapters 6 and 7) I have relied on school reports, since my note-taking during lessons was directed towards pupils' not teachers' activities. On the other hand my classroom experience in this school provided a constant reference and internal check when it came to analysing and drawing inferences from the school reports.

20. In practice towards the end of the second term, after 'mock' O and CSE exams, several teachers offered to release from lessons pupils whom I might want to see (for interview or questionnaire administration). Pupils were interviewed on their own but questionnaires were routinely administered to small groups (2-6 pupils). Where a teacher made such an offer I gave him/her a list of pupils whom I wanted to see. In the case of pupils who had done well in the exams there was usually no hesitation in allowing them to miss a lesson, but most teachers were reluctant to have a pupil who had demonstrated weakness in the subject in the 'mocks' miss any lessons. These negotiations incidentally provided some cross-check on teachers' perceptions of some pupils.

21. This decision was made in the light of much previous literature on schooling which, as Reynolds points out 'would lead one to expect that social life ... should be characterized by a high degree of conflict between pupils and staff, high levels of coercion by the teachers and resulting high levels of pupil alienation from the goals of the school'. (Reynolds, 1976, p.132).

22. Subsequently I was able to compare the set lists from which teachers worked with those I drew up from the information provided by students and the disparities this uncovered clarified one of the reasons why some of the students were able, at various times throughout the week, to absent themselves from lessons without this being noticed - for the teachers' sets, lists were incomplete even at the beginning of the term and became even less accurate as time progressed and as students were transferred from set to set. Because of these disparities of which pupils and teachers were aware in varying degrees it was soon obvious that, alone in the school, I knew where each of the pupils in the study should have been, and also knew who was 'bunking off'. A decision made before research began, that if it came to a choice I would take the part of the pupil meant that I was clear that I should not divulge to staff such instances of rule-breaking by students. The students quickly realised that I had what may be called 'guilty knowledge' about them and as quickly understood that it would not be shared with teachers or other pupils. This is a delicate ethical issue, of course, but was probably the first and most obvious demonstration that I was no more likely to 'rat' on them than other pupils would.

23. I am grateful to S. Wallman and V.S. Khan for discussions which helped to clarify these difficulties.

24. Note-taking (and later, the distribution of questionnaires, being seen with a tape recorder, and so on) conformed to most people's understanding of what a researcher does and thus probably helped to confirm my story that I was a researcher. In addition, conspicuous note-taking does underline that everybody is 'on the record' and serves to remind people that there is a researcher in their midst - a fact which helps to salve one's conscience about the possible violation of confidences later when one is writing up. If everybody knows that one is doing research, as I have argued is the case in school, the bias to one's research findings which that knowledge creates, already exists; being seen to engage in research activities is unlikely to produce further bias. Indeed I would suggest that, in the circumstances described, failure to engage in such activities breeds more suspicion and reserve on the part of those in the organisation where research is taking place.

25. Two examples will illustrate this.

A group of five boys (4 Asians 1 Sri Lankan) had tended to have little contact with me and to regard me with some bafflement. One day in the first half-term I attended a social studies lesson also attended by two of them, during the course of which the teacher had been discussing the potential rewards of work (i.e. jobs) as compared with being a pupil. The lesson following was English and I happened to attend the set in which the five boys mentioned were taught. Despite being a timetabled lesson the English teacher was never able to attend as he was teaching another set elsewhere in the school, so the lesson was usually supervised by another teacher while students got on with the work which they had been set in their previous English lesson. It happened that on this day the supervising teacher was absent and no substitute arrived. Students were supposed to be reading one of their O level literature set books, which some of them did. One of the Asian boys already mentioned came to say that he and his friends wanted to ask me a question. With some hesitation one of the others asked whether it was true that I was earning money and, if so, was it a good wage? I told them my salary. After further questions and lengthy discussion - was the figure gross or net, was I self-employed, did the amount include overtime pay, and so on, the general opinion was that it was 'a good screw'. For whatever reason this exchange seemed to satisfy these boys that it was worth talking to me and taking part in the project.

The second example, is not particularly to my credit. Three Asian girls formed a friendship group, of whom one had been the very first student to approach me directly (on the first day of lesson observation at the pilot stage) to ask for more information about the research. For the remainder of the pilot and some weeks into the main study this girl and her two friends had not followed up this contact - I had occasionally sat near them in class, queued with them outside classrooms and in the dining room at lunch-time but had not yet established much of a relationship with them. The change in this situation appears to be related to my behaviour in a games lesson, when we were all playing hockey: to survive I had to rely on accurate passing rather than speed and in annoyance at miss-hitting the ball I swore loudly. The teacher refereeing jokingly warned me that she would send me off if I swore again. I imagined that my unguarded behaviour would be detrimental to my standing in the eyes of pupils, but apparently the reverse was the case. The three girls sought me out at the end of the lesson and waited with me for the coach to take us back to school, and although my behaviour was not referred to then or subsequently it seems that something about it encouraged the girls to be less reserved with me.

26. In public, I was never more than tolerated by a proportion of West Indian boys, who only rarely approached me when others were present. On the (rare) occasions when they were on their own and we talked they were usually amiable and vivacious. None refused to be interviewed or to complete questionnaires. I would guess that their public behaviour was as much to do with a desire to be seen to be 'cool' among their peers, as to a political stance which said that co-operation or contact with white people was treacherous.

Chapter 3

The Choice of School

The choice of any research location inevitably imposes some constraints on the kind of work which can be attempted even though it is selected to facilitate the research in other ways. Similarly, where, how, and with whom one carries out the work, affects the nature of any inferences which can be legitimately drawn from the research.

In consideration of these issues the research setting in which this work took place and my reasons for choosing such a location are set out. By this means the limitations of the research design and the consequent sample on whom this study is based can be clarified and assessed.

My decision to work in a school emerged from a consideration of theoretical understandings and related pragmatic issues:-

The literature on the development of gender-roles concentrates heavily on the pre- and early school years on the, possibly justified, assumption that this is the time when the foundations are laid, and the most overt socialisation into gender-roles takes place. There is a relative lack of material about a period of life in which this groundwork begins to be tested independently and earlier conceptions may be re-assessed i.e. during adolescence. This appeared to be a fruitful area in which to concentrate research interests, the more so since it is an age group with whom I have greater sympathy than younger children.

Being, at the same time, curious about the supposed universal core of conceptualisations about masculinity and femininity, I intended to make a comparison of the views of people from different cultural/ethnic backgrounds- a central part of the research focus. Limited resources of time and money meant that an ethnographic study in the classic anthropological tradition of looking at relatively encapsulated/

geographically separated groups could not be attempted. And in any case there seemed to be as much potential worth in looking at groups which are in some senses culturally distinct from each other, while being in contact with each other.

It seemed justified on the grounds of the differences in age and ethnicity and possibly of class and sex : between me and those who would be the focus of the research that shared meanings or understandings could not be assumed. A period of time in which we could assess each other and an exploratory stance on my part in carrying out the research over that period of time seemed to suggest some form of participant observation as an appropriate technique.

A further decision as to how to draw the sample remained. One way would have been to draw a random sample from census data or other relatively all-encompassing list, contact the adolescents at home, work or school and then follow them about in whatever activities they pursued. This would perhaps be the ideal, even though there might be great problems related to class, language, religion, age and my sex : in ensuring reasonable coverage of activities in all the ethnic group contexts. This plan had to be rejected because of the time and money constraints.

Sampling adolescents on the basis of activities - such as sporting activities, hanging about the streets, has its own problems of ensuring a reasonably representative sample of both adolescents and activities. Similar problems attend concentrating on one, or sampling from a number of, places in which adolescents might be found in any number viz. pubs, youth clubs, sports clubs, discos and dance halls, church, unemployment queues, football matches, public eating places, Brook or FPA youth clinics, Community Homes, etc. If these were used as simple expedients for first

contact with young people, the great problem would be in maintaining contact and then restricting the period of time in which to carry out the research. If such contacts were to be the stuff of the research the problem of their fleeting and situationally specific nature would be enormous. These and similar problems in locating samples of ethnic minority group members are covered in greater detail in a recent paper (Leach 1975).

Keeping in mind a further consideration that, if not yet 'of a certain age' I am sufficiently old to be neither able nor particularly willing to 'pass' as an adolescent, this would necessarily mean meeting them as adult to adolescent. Whatever location chosen for the research, this would be a potential source of bias, though some locations might minimise the effects of this. The viable choices were thus somewhat limited.

The choice of a school was made with these thoughts in mind. Within the boundaries of its catchment area a school would provide a reasonable sample of normal adolescents in terms of sex and ethnicity. The compulsory nature of school attendance is an advantage since it makes for a sample in which all of a particular age range is included, one knows the limitations of the sample (e.g. that the mentally or physically handicapped are excluded), and that the biggest source of bias is the non-attender. (In the event there was one boy out of 139 students in this category.) Similarly, whatever the location I would be an adult vis-a-vis an adolescent and school is one place where adolescents expect adults to be - however vague or odd that adult's activities may seem. This is not true of many of the other potential situations and doubtless wherever adults are encountered adolescents adopt a systematic way of dealing with them. Avoiding school would not avoid the problem

of an adolescent systematically slanting what s/he said to me qua adult, though the nature of the self-presentation obviously depends on the situation in which it occurs.

All these considerations led me to believe that, providing the research design did not have to be compromised and that worthwhile access to a suitable school could be obtained, the research could usefully be undertaken in a school.

But any researcher who chooses to locate research in a school when his/her research is not centrally 'about education' (e.g. curriculum, teaching styles, children's progress through/reaction to school, teacher's expectations, etc.) has certain difficulties in justifying that choice to others in the academic and race relations communities. There is a belief, widely articulated at a recent conference[1], that school is, if not the worst, then certainly a poor choice of location in which to research adolescents. Such a view has sufficiently wide support that its existence needs to be acknowledged and its implications discussed.

In summary, this position holds that school is the last place to undertake work of the kind reported here because it is such an artificial environment: firstly, the element of compulsion on students to attend makes it a non-naturalistic setting in which to observe adolescents' behaviour, particularly gender-role behaviour; secondly, the general educational ethos is one which makes gender non-salient; thirdly, as school is felt by many pupils to be irrelevant to their 'real' lives and interests (actual or future) very few see this as an arena for acting out gender-roles; and this in combination with the severe limitations on checking what students say against how they behave means

that it is not possible to make worthwhile conclusions about either students' perceptions of gender or their gender-role behaviour.

These arguments raise important issues which cannot be decisively settled since in the end they rest on particular a priori assumptions about the importance students attach to school, and role of school in shaping students' present lives and future life-chances and so on. These issues will be picked up in later chapters but a brief summary of my position and assumptions is in order at this stage.

The first point relates to one's conception of the parameters of gender-role behaviour. The present study adopts an inclusive rather than a limited definition such that gender-role includes a great deal more than sexuality or sex-object preference, a definition common in the psychological or psychoanalytic traditions. If one simply took the latter definition school would likely be a very limited place in which to observe gender-role behaviour. The decision to concentrate on other aspects of masculinity and femininity was entirely deliberate as it was intended that the research would not become yet another study of the sexual behaviour of young people.

If the legitimacy of a wider definition of masculinity and femininity is admitted then it becomes clearer that gender-role behaviour could hardly be absent in school. While school was certainly defined by the students in this research as not a place in which to exercise their sexuality or behave sexually - they were actually rather pitying and contemptuous of the 6th formers who could be seen 'doing being sexy' - this did not mean they were unaware of the need and pressures to be appropriately masculine or feminine in the school context.

A second point relates to levels of analysis:- school may be seen as irrelevant by some or all students[2] but having tried to understand this viewpoint the researcher is not obliged to accept their definition. No matter whether pupils or others recognise or acknowledge it, school partly shapes the life-chances of its pupils, both in terms of the environment it provides and the values it attempts to put over for a significant portion of their time from age 5 to 16, and in terms of the qualifications (or lack of) it provides them with for their movement into the world of work. Whether students accept the values or reject them, the influence of school in their lives is undeniable.

It should perhaps be pointed out that even this is not universally believed by either educational policy-makers or sociologists, as another writer observes:

> 'Belief in the relative unimportance of schooling as a determinant of anything has been reinforced by the Coleman Report in the USA, the Plowden Report in this country and the recent work by Jencks which agrees that differences between schools in their human and physical resources, in their curriculum and in their methods exert very little influence in producing differences in the attainments of their students'. (Reynolds, 1976, p.128)

The issues of teachers' and pupils' expectations are taken up in later chapters, and so will not be explored here. Quite apart from whether school determines pupils' success it is the view of the present author that even if all students regard school as boring, irrelevant or simply not part of the realworld it does not mean they stop 'behaving' or 'being' in school, nor does it preclude their behaving inside school in ways which are of interest to the researcher of gender-roles. Their reactions to being cooped up in such a situation - whether it be protest, rebellion, passivity or whatever - may be systematically structured, in part, by their sex and by the prevailing ideas about masculinity and femininity. Similarly, teachers' reactions to 'recalcitrant' students,

as indeed their attempts to interact with any student, may be more or less coloured by their ideas of appropriate and inappropriate male and female behaviour. Thus the argument that a school is an appropriate place to study gender roles does not rely on the assumption that most or all pupils define school as relevant to them personally. Rather it is based on the contention that sex-class and conceptions of gender-appropriate behaviour permeate all situations to a greater or lesser extent and that school is no exception.

Therefore the task for the researcher interested in the devlopment and possible changes in gender role conceptions of adolescents is to study pupils' experiences and activities in school, in the light of their own pre-existing notions of appropriate gender behaviour and of those which are manifested to them in their teachers' behaviour.

A third point relates to manifest and latent functions and ideologies in schools. It may be true that some or all schools operate on the assumption that it is their role/function to nurture and promote equality of opportunity irrespective of sex or ethnicity and that this renders the sex or race of staff and pupils irrelevant. But there is now ample evidence, supported in later chapters of this thesis, of the'hidden curriculum', 'channelling' or whatever else one chooses to call the process by which schools reinforce and reflect wider societal values pertaining to many issues, but including the proper/'natural' place of women vis-a-vis men, and of blacks in relation to whites. That this can and does occur at the same time that schools may be consciously trying to counteract such stereotypes and promote greater equality attests to the relatively small part that they, on their own, can have in this respect. But it certainly does not suggest that, despite any commitment otherwise, sex is irrelevant in schools.

Schools may not be able readily to counteract prevailing stereotypes about the sexes or ethnic minorities nor effect changes in the sexual and racial divisions in society. They may, indeed, be only too successful in reinforcing such stereotypes and material divisions. But, for the researcher, this is of substantial interest in itself.

Later chapters demonstrate how sexual segregation can operate in a co-educational school, and how a combination of school organisation and the operation of pupils' 'choices' can bring about a reinforcement of taken-for-granted assumptions about the sexes (Chapter 9). Analysis of teacher's values (Chapters 6 and 7) also suggests that sex of pupil is one salient aspect in their evaluation and treatment of pupils. Similarly, knowledge of a pupil's sex and self-concept as masculine or feminine are essential to an understanding of much of pupils' activities and behaviour within the school (see Chapter 10).

Choosing the Particular School

After discussions with Education Advisors, head teachers and other teachers in two London boroughs I settled on a school which would be suitable for the research. To preserve anonymity the School will be referred to as Torville School. No school can be 'typical' nor its students or staff representative of the whole school population or teaching profession. This should be remembered in interpreting all subsequent information and conclusions. The present study will try primarily to represent as clearly as possible the views and experience of those in a particular school rather than attempt to draw conclusions generalisable to the entire population.

It is, therefore, necessary to describe accurately, if briefly, the school and its surroundings and in particular any characteristics of the school which might have shaped the data obtained.

It was essential to find a school in which I could have access to any lesson or activity in which fifth form pupils were involved and for this access to disrupt as little as possible the relationship in the classroom between teacher and pupils. This seemed to indicate a school in which as few staff as possible would be likely to object to my being in their classes - it was assumed probationer teachers would be most likely to be threatened by the presence of an extraneous adult in their class, that teachers new to a school might feel similarly and that teachers in 'difficult' schools would legitimately not want to jeopardise what might be a precarious working relationship with their pupils by introducing a possibly unsettling change. For these reasons a school with a fairly stable teaching force and with few 'new' teachers was most appropriate. It happens that the period in which the research was conducted, 1975-1976, coincided with a general decrease in teacher mobility in London schools, although the school selected was probably somewhat more stable than some others in the borough and certainly more than it had been itself in the preceeding academic year. The number of teachers new to the school was 9 out of a teaching establishment of 96, and six of these were probationers (though not necessarily absolute beginners as teachers).

The remainder of this chapter attempts to describe what one writer calls the 'ecology' of the school (Eggleston, 1976). First, a brief sketch of the borough, particularly in terms of characteristics or trends which may be relevant to an understanding of Torville School is given. This is followed by a short description of the neighbourhood in which

the school is located. Finally, the structure and organisation of the school are set out together with a more impressionistic description of the interior of that part of Torville School in which the major portion of the present research was conducted.

Characteristics of the Borough

The structure and size of the borough's population has undergone considerable change in the last 15 to 20 years. In common with other Greater London boroughs it has a declining population and one which has changed its demographic characteristics. Migration of people of West Indian origin or parentage began to show in the 1961 census, while migration of Asians (of Indian or Pakistani birth or parentage) did not create significant numbers until the 1966 census.

At the time of the 1971 census about 70% of those living in the borough were British-born, 14.5% had been born in the 'New Commonwealth' and almost 9% had been born in Ireland. (see Table 1) The borough has one of the highest proportions of black people in Greater London, with 17.4% of its residents having two parents born in the 'New Commonwealth'. In the age group relevant to the present research (children aged 5-14 at the time of the 1971 census) 27.5% were of 'New Commonwealth' parentage. Since that date the population of non-British born residents has been increased by the settlement of Ugandan Asians who came to Britain as refugees from the Amin regime.

The Asian population of the borough is made up of a majority of East African Asians, with a minority coming from the Indian Subcontinent. Those from East Africa were a significant proportion of the Asian groups even before the settlement of East African refugees.

Table 1.

Borough Population, by Birthplace. (Expressed in Percentages)

Birthplace	1951	1961	1966	1971
Great Britain	90.4	81.4	75.6	69.7
Ireland	3.8	7.4	8.7	8.6
Commonwealth (Total)	1.0	5.4	9.5	14.4
(i) British Caribbean	0.1	3.1	5.5	6.5
(ii) India/ Pakistan[1]	0.4	1.1	2.2	4.0
(iii) Africa	0.2	0.5	0.9	2.7
(iv) Cyprus/Malta/ Gibralter	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.7
(v) Other	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5
Elsewhere	4.8	5.8	6.2	7.3
Total (n)	311,081	295,893	288,130	280,655

Note 1. includes all other Commonwealth countries in Asia.

Source: Censuses, 1951, 1961, 1966, 1971.

The black population is not evenly distributed throughout the borough - a majority of West Indians and Black British of Caribbean parentage live in the south of the borough while the majority of Asians live in the north. Overall, the south has a higher proportion of immigrants and Black British than the north.

Table 2.

Proportion of Households in each Tenure Category

	1961	1971
Owner occupiers	46.9	48.2
Local Authority tenants	7.7	12.8[1]
Renting unfurnished	31.2	21.9
Renting furnished	11.8	16.5

Note.1. By June 1976 this figure had risen to 15%; at that time the

average for Greater London was 24.9% and for all Outer London Boroughs was 20.9%

Source: Statistics provided by the Borough based on Census, 1961, 1971.

There is considerable housing stress in the Borough generally. With 11.4% of occupied dwellings having two or more households, and 9.5% of the population living at more than 1½ persons per room, the Borough has one of the highest shortfalls of accommodation and incidences of overcrowding of all London boroughs. Over a quarter of houses are estimated to fall below the '12 point standard' laid down in housing legislation. This is combined with the lowest proportion of council tenancies in any London borough. Between the years 1966 to 1971 there was an overall decline in privately rented accommodation and a marked shift during this period from renting unfurnished to renting furnished (at a time when security of tenure in the latter was not guaranteed). (see Table 2)

This borough-wide picture obscures certain internal differences. It is generally agreed and can be shown that the north of the borough is a 'nicer', more desirable area. The south has a greater proportion of poor housing stock - all five General Improvement Areas and the Housing Action Area are in the south,[3] for example - is less well served with other facilities and has a higher concentration of the borough's industry, (approx 2/3 at June 1975), (see Table 3).

At the time of starting fieldwork average unemployment in Greater London was 3.7%, with a higher figure in this borough, 4.6% (national average was 5.5%). This had risen by February 1976 to 4.8% in the borough (5.8% nationally). This continued to rise during the period of fieldwork and concern was being expressed locally and nationally at the levels of unemployment among school-leavers. Teachers in the school, clearly aware of the local employment prospects, were particularly

concerned at the large proportion of black school-leavers who could only look forward to almost certain unemployment for lengthy periods. This reflects fairly accurate knowledge about employment prospects in the borough for black people generally - Table 4 shows that more than a third of people of all ages registering unemployed during 1975 were black, whether British-born or immigrant.

A survey in Glasgow during 1972 confirms the relatively poor job prospects for Asian school-leavers in an area of general high unemployment (Fowler et al, 1977); while research on Asians in their final year of degree courses, conducted a couple of years later, makes it clear that job prospects for this group were just as limited (Ballard and Holden, 1975).

Table 3.

Employees in Employment in the North and South of the Borough, by Industry Group[1]. (June 1975)

(Expressed in thousands)

	South	North
Primary (I + II)	0.0	0.0
Manufacturing (III - IX)	32.7	16.5
Construction (XX)	3.1	2.7
Gas, Electricity, Water (XXI)	1.5	0.9
Distributive Trades (XXIII)	10.0	7.1
Miscellaneous Services (XXVI)[2]	7.6	3.5
Public Administration (XXVII)	3.5	1.5
Other Service Industries (XXII, XXIV, XXV)[3]	22.1	13.0
Total	80.5	45.2

Notes: 1. Based on Standard Industrial Classification 1968
2. Transport, Communication, Banking, Finance and Business Services, Professional and Scientific Services.
3. Excluding private domestic industry.

Source: Employment Record II (Industry Groups), Department of Employment.

Table 4.

Black Registrants as a Proportion of all Those Registered Unemployed in the Borough, 1975

	Registrants born in New Commonwealth or who have one or both parents born here
South of Borough	40.4%
North of Borough	27.1%
Whole Borough	35.7%

Source: Statistics provided by the Borough, based on quarterly returns from Employment Exchanges in the Borough.

Table 5A.

Asians and West Indians, Aged 16-24, Registered Unemployed in the Borough, 1975 and 1976

	February 1975			February 1976		
	16-17yrs	18-24yrs	Total	16-17yrs	18-24yrs	Total
Asian (n)	4	38	42	11	141	152
West Indian (n)	19	81	100	50	192	242
Total (n)	23	119	142	61	333	394

Source: Quarterly returns from Employment Exchanges in the borough.

Table 5.A gives information about the number of people aged 16-24 (the nearest approximation to the 'school-leaving' category) who were registered unemployed in 1975 and 1976. (Returns from Employment Exchanges only provide age breakdowns in February each year). Approximately three times as many Asians and West Indians registered unemployed in 1976 as in 1975. This is obviously not an accurate indicator of unemployment rates since without relevant age profiles for each ethnic group it is not possible to deduce what proportion is unemployed. Such age profiles are not available and the information is included to indicate a trend towards higher unemployment than to draw conclusions

about rates of unemployment. Table 5B similarly shows a rise in the number registering unemployed, though the increase is not quite so large as for the 16-24 year old categories.

Table 5B.

Asians and West Indians, All Ages, Registered Unemployed, 1975 and 1976

	February 1975			February 1976		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Asian (n)	189	78	267	476	171	647
West Indian (n)	285	83	368	641	249	890
Total (n)	474	161	635	1117	420	1537

Source: Quarterly returns from Employment Exchanges in the Borough

Figures available for the years 1966 and 1971 indicate that similar proportions of borough residents were classified as manual or non-manual in those two years: see Table 6 which sets out the socio-economic grouping of males in the borough. This obscures differences between the north and south of the borough in that semi- and unskilled workers are heavily concentrated in the south.[4] It should not be assumed that data on socio-economic grouping of borough residents accurately reflects employment opportunities or needs in the borough since almost half the residents work outside the borough and almost half the jobs in the borough are filled by people who travel into the borough for work.

Table 6.

Socio-Economic Grouping of Males* Resident in the Borough, 1966 and 1971 (Expressed in Percentages)

S.E.G.		1966	1971
1,2,3,4,13	Managerial and Professional	17.1	18.5
5, 6	Other non-manual	21.8	21.1
12,14	Other self-employed	4.9	6.3
8,9	Skilled manual	31.8	28.4
7,10,15	Semi-skilled, Personal Service	15.6	15.3
11	Unskilled	7.7	7.2
16	Armed Forces	0.3	0.3
	Indefinite	0.7	2.8
	N =	9488	8753

* data refer to economically active males aged 15 and over

Source: Statistics provided by the Borough, based on Sample Census, 1966 and 1971.

The school in its local context

The school was essentially a neighbourhood school, drawing its pupils from a relatively small area immediately surrounding it. Only a few students lived far enough away to have to travel by bus, and most of these were erstwhile local residents who had moved some distance from the school but had chosen to continue attending rather than change to a school nearer their new home.

The school was in the generally favoured north of the borough but analysis of the ward in which it was situated and which almost completely coincided with its official catchment area suggests that in some important respects the area had more in common with the south than the north of the borough. For example, the low proportion of old age pensioners and the high proportion of under 5's resembled the age-structure of southern wards. Similarly there was a higher proportion

of married women with children under 5 who were employed outside the home than in most northern wards, but this proportion was similar to most of the wards in the south. In addition the proportion of 'New Commonwealth' immigrants approximated the distribution for the south (i.e. higher than the overall borough figure : of children aged 5-14 in 1971, 27.5% in the borough, but 35.01% in the school's catchment area were New Commonwealth immigrants). However, like the north generally, there was a higher proportion of Asian than West Indian immigrants. (This was reflected in the proportion of Asian and West Indian students in the 5th year of the school).

The junior part of the school was housed in two postwar buildings with grassed and metalled recreation areas. They were built on the same campus adjacent to a Tube station and fronting a main road joining the North Circular to a nearby shopping centre which attracted people from beyond the immediate area. This road was a mixture of residential, commercial and small light industrial premises (e.g. clothing manufacters and wholesalers) - the more substantial detached houses now serving as offices or doctor's and dentist's consulting rooms; the smaller shops (usually with a flat above) serving a wide range of general and specific needs (grocery, greengrocery, drapers, newsagents, office equipment, general stores, etc.). A high proportion of these shops and the clothing manufacturers was owned and/or staffed by Asians.

The senior part of the school was just off this main road in a tree-lined street which had 'gone down'. The between-the-wars semis showed evidence of multi-occupation and decay. Other streets immediately surrounding the school were red-brick terraces of small Victorian houses which appeared to be kept in better general repair. In stark contrast

to the pleasant surroundings of the junior part, the senior school, enclosed by high brick walls topped with wire mesh, looked fairly forbidding. Originally built for fewer students than it now catered for the main brick-built building had a cluster of elderly 'temporary' huts and one small permanent addition to take the overspill. In common with many other schools in the borough there were cramped metalled areas and very inadequate grassed playing surfaces. Consequently students travelled by coach to recreation fields some distance away for Games lessons.

Structure and Organisation of Torville School

The school in which the research was conducted was a mixed, multi-racial comprehensive in north London. There was a nine-form entry and a total school roll of approximately 1500. Formed by amalgamating three existing schools (a boys' and a girls' secondary modern and a mixed grammar school), the school was on two sites.

First, second and third year pupils of both sexes (aged 11+ to 13+) were allocated to one of the erstwhile secondary schools, each of which was headed by a senior teacher who ran his or her part of the school relatively autonomously. There were approximately 400 pupils in each of these buildings. The senior part of the school (housed in the ex-grammar school buildings, approximately half a mile from the junior sections) catered for roughly 700 fourth, fifth and sixth form pupils (aged 14+). The sixth form was approximately 200 pupils.

The school was further subdivided, vertically, into four 'houses' one of whose major functions was to provide pastoral care for students. Members of staff, as well as students, were allocated to one of the houses. Some staff held posts of responsibility in the house system.

Organisation of Fifth Year Teaching

Pupils were divided into two bands at the beginning of the fourth year for the two year period leading up to public examinations (C.S.E., and O level) at the end of their fifth year.

One band was composed mainly of practical subjects (e.g. typing, woodwork) with some academic subjects, while the other band had the opposite emphasis - mainly academic but with some practical subjects. The division was, in other words, between those of lower achievement and/or ability (which will be called Band L) and those of higher achievement/ability - to be referred to as Band U. Research was carried out with students in Band U[5], although a short period of time (2 weeks) was spent observing lessons in Band L, for comparative purposes.

Table 7.

	Number of Students in Bands U and L		
	Girls	Boys	Total
Band L	77	51	128
Band U	53	89	142
Total	130	140	270

Apart from one double period per week which was set aside for games for all 5th year pupils, students in Band U did not have lessons with those in Band L.

Differences between the experiences in school of Band L and Band U students may most usefully be conveyed using Bernstein's instructive analysis of 'educational knowledge' (Bernstein 1971).

The curriculum for Band U students can be characterised as based on strong classification and strong framing - students were taught discrete 'subjects' via an externally defined syllabus in pursuit of qualifications in public examinations. (Such a combination of strong framing and classification Bernstein defines as a 'collection code').

For part of their day students in Band L also followed such a curriculum although the framing was less strong than with Band U students. However they also pursued a curriculum specifically aimed at breaking down traditional barriers between some subjects - in this case geography, English and history. Much of this curriculum was taught using 'topics' as the organising principle and 'projects' as the teaching medium. This curriculum was taught by the team-teaching method whereby erstwhile subject-teachers taught various aspects of the syllabus which they had themselves devised and which would be examined as a CSE Mode 3. In general, relations between pupils and teachers were apparently less formal and more personalised than was the case for Band U students. Bernstein designates such a curriculum, based on weak classification and framing as 'integrated'.

Comparison of Bands L and U would tend to confirm Bernstein's suggestion that:

> "Knowledge thus tends to be transmitted, particularly to the elite pupils at the secondary level, through strong frames which control the selecting, organization, pacing and timing of the knowledge. The receipt of knowledge is not so much a right as something to be won or earned. The stronger the classification and the framing, the more the educational relationship tends to be hierarchical and ritualized and the pupil seen as ignorant, with little status and few rights' whereas 'when this frame is relaxed to include everyday realities, it is often and sometimes validly, not simply for the transmission of educational knowledge, but for purposes of social control of deviancy. The weakening

> of this frame occurs usually with the less 'able' children whom we have given up educating". (Bernstein 1971, pp.58-59).

Two riders should be added. The term 'elite' in relation to Band U students was true only relative to Band L - in terms of their social class position, their future prospects and their teachers' perceptions of them as pupils (see later chapters) 'elite' was not the word which immediately sprang to mind. Secondly, there was no evidence that the majority of those who taught them had written off Band L students as ineducable or unworthy of being educated. Indeed the 'integrated studies' course (as that part of the Band L course was known) had been formulated precisely because of the feeling that the mord traditional curriculum was failing some students. On the other hand it may be that such experiments are only permitted or tolerated with students whom key figures among the school decision-makers have decided or perceive are ineducable. In the present study no systematic attempt was made to answer such questions and since no evidence was obtained which would decide the matter one way or the other, the above suggestion must remain entirely speculative.

Organisation within Band U

Students were divided into 5 forms each with a form teacher. Students met in their forms twice each day to be marked in the attendance register and for notices to be announced, etc. Once a week the form met for a form period which was a non-teaching period. Students were allocated to forms on the basis of their CSE/O level choices - 1 form for students taking two foreign languages (Language) 2 forms for those specialising

in science (Science) and 2 forms for those taking geography and history (Arts/General). Within each specialism - Language, Science, General, students were divided into sets, (which are teaching groups) for each school subject.

Students in Band U spent the greatest proportion of their school time in the complex of buildings which has so far been referred to as the senior part of the school. For brevity this will henceforth be called Torville Upper.

Inside Torville Upper

The physical amenities and general design or layout of a school may have effects on the interaction between teachers and pupils, while the standard of upkeep, decor and so on may give important clues to the nature of those interactions and to the uses to which pupils and teachers put the school. These factors also have implications for a researcher's interaction with staff and pupils, as will be pointed out in the ensuing descriptions.

As has already been mentioned there were several buildings in the Torville Upper complex. Students in the fifth year spent most of their time in the main building whose basic design was of classrooms built on both sides of an internal corridor. The rooms had high ceilings while windows on the external walls started at about five or six feet from the floor, allowing plenty of light to enter, but preventing most people from looking through them. Windows were uncurtained and rooms contained the minimum of furniture or equipment.

Students sat at wooden desks or tables; sometimes these tables were double, more often two single desks would be pushed together to

enable pupils to share books and equipment. Pupils' personal belongings and school books were kept either in metal cupboards inside the classroom or in wooden lockers which lined the corridors. Much of the furniture was old and in some instances rickety to the point of danger. The metal lockers were newer but of flimsy construction and were already showing signs of heavy use and misuse - dents, doors missing, etc.

All but one classroom was bare of decoration - it was said that the posters, newspaper clippings and photographs in this room remained only by dint of constant surveillance by the boys in that form. To some extent the lack of decoration may be attributed to the fact that most teaching rooms did not 'belong' to any recognisable group - both students and staff moved from room to room for different lessons so that in many cases no identifiable person or group felt, or indeed was, responsible for a particular room. Consequently there was a somewhat impersonal or anonymous feel to most of the teaching rooms in this part of the school. In the cookery room and biology laboratory which were used only for the teaching of those subjects there were some posters relating to the subject taught.

Very few classrooms had a cupboard in which the teacher could store books or other teaching materials (though the cookery, geography and science staff were better off in this respect). For this reason teachers and pupils had to carry their books and equipment with them for each lesson. For the teacher this meant frequent visits to a central store to return materials from one lesson and to pick up those required for the next.

The loftiness of the classrooms combined with their wooden floors

and the concrete flooring of the corridors meant that noise was amplified. Poor sound insulation between rooms or between corridor and classrooms ensured that noise levels throughout the building were generally high. I found noise to be a particular problem in the first weeks of fieldwork, such that headaches were normal and a feeling of physical nausea not unusual. The level of noise did not appreciably decrease over the period of fieldwork, but my tolerance increased![6]

All classrooms in the main building had either half-glazed or part-glazed doors; some also had windows into the corridor, thus enabling people in the corridor to see those inside the room and vice versa. At times, notably during double lessons when others would be moving about the corridor at lesson change-over, this proved enough noise and distraction to halt the lesson. Windows into the corridor provided opportunities for pupils to hold conversations with others in the corridor and providing this was done quietly and the person outside was not trying to be deliberately distracting (shouting, pulling faces, etc.) most of these encounters passed unnoticed (or at any rate were not commented on) by teachers and the flow of the lesson was not usually interrupted.

A basic design fault, creating constant minor irritation, was that classroom doors opened outwards, into the corridor. Corridors were not in any case particularly wide - slightly more than two doors' width. Although doors were staggered so that none opened immediately opposite another, nevertheless a door being opened at a time when there were many people in the corridor created a bottleneck. Walking along

the corridors was always slightly hazardous for the reason that doors might be suddenly pushed open into one's face. At the changeover of lessons there was much jostling and shoving, an inevitable consequence of the fact that corridors were being used by almost twice as many people as originally built for, but a situation which pupils could use to advantage if they wanted to create a disturbance.

Apart from the rooms so far described the offices of the Head, Deputy Head, School Secretary and some Heads of Department were housed in this building, together with cloakrooms and lavatories for staff and pupils, the gym, assembly hall, school canteen and dining room (which doubled as a classroom), a library, small sick bay and the two main staff rooms. Officially one of these was a quiet room for work preparation and the other was a commonroom. Historical precedent (dating from the time when this had been a grammar school) and the attendant location of the male and female staff lavatories meant that these rooms were known as the male and female staff room respectively. Staff did not stick to a rigid segregation either of the sexes or of the uses to which they put the rooms. The female staff/common room however was where the bridge and guitar players tended to be found and as the only piece of office equipment available to teachers (a small chemical reproducer) was in the male staff workroom teachers who needed to use the equipment had of necessity to do so in that room. Marking of books and lesson preparation not requiring the use of the reproducer took place in either of the staff rooms.

There were two single-storey wooden buildings at some distance from the main part of Torville Upper, housing technical workshops and a classroom for the teaching of technical drawing. Their unkempt exterior was matched by the interior where piles of broken or discarded furniture, bits of wood and metal and cardboard boxes were heaped

around the lobby between rooms making entrance to them somewhat difficult - and, incidentally, providing ready-made diversions for pupils who would 'accidentally' knock things over or trip over one of the piles loudly announcing their 'injury'.

There was an air of the makeshift and temporary about these rooms despite the fact that staff teaching technical subjects appeared to spend all their free time as well as most of their teaching time in them. Something about the facilities, the subject and the staff created an atmosphere peculiar (at Torville) to the 'huts'. Pupils who in most other subjects and for the greater part of the day behaved in a way accepted as reasonable (who had what teachers described as a 'serious' attitude) could be seen behaving in the 'huts' for all the world as though they were leading members of an anti-school or delinquent gang.

It is not suggested that the manifestly poor material environment of these rooms caused such behaviour but rather that poor facilities may reflect the status in a school of the particular subject in question and/or the low status of those who teach those subjects. They may also provide clues about the teachers' attitudes to their work.

Teachers of technical subjects (wood- and metal-work, technical drawing) at Torville were isolated by more than physical distance from their colleagues and comprised an apparently separate and self-enclosed sub-group of the staff. They rarely appeared in the main building whether at the mid-morning or lunchtime breaks, nor did they make a habit of going to the staff room then or after school, as most other teachers did, Their isolation appeared to be self-imposed, but it was also the case that to my knowledge other teachers were not in the habit of going to the huts, so this may have been a

mutually agreed separation.

They were regarded by some staff and rather more pupils as oddballs, a perception not unique to Torville (Gannaway 1976) and one which in terms of certain characteristics was grounded in reality - for example, teachers of technical subjects are likely to have made their way to teaching by a different route from the modal one of college or university education and straight to teaching. Most, if not all, will have had industrial work experience prior to teaching and may well have entered the profession for different reasons and with expectations of their work different from those of the majority of other teachers. This in itself might be sufficient to set them somewhat apart from other teachers, but the matter is almost certainly more complex.

In the first instance, technical subjects at Torville were part of that group of subjects which were not central to the curriculum - while Band U students were obliged to take English, maths, R.E. and careers, subjects like woodwork or technical drawing were one of several 'options' from which students had to choose only one. Thus even though students 'opting' to do woodwork would be expected to take an external exam at the end of their fifth year the way that this subject was presented to them - as optional - in a sense makes a clear statement of the peripheral status of the subject. This in itself is not sufficient to explain pupils' behaviour; many of the boys taking these subjects were aiming for jobs or apprenticeships for which they could expect experience and qualification in such a subject to be useful. In addition there were other equally 'peripheral' subjects (such as art or cookery) which did not suffer such poor physical surroundings. There were also

some (e.g. drama) whose marginality was declared by provisions equally poor as those in the technical subjects, where the space and amenities were, if anything, rather worse than in the huts. Yet in none of these were staff isolated from their colleagues nor did they seem to elicit what in teachers' terms would be described as archetypically 'silly' behaviour among the pupils taking them.

The huts were a male bastion in a mixed school - only male teachers taught and only male pupils studied woodwork, metalwork and technical drawing. The rooms were not used for teaching other subjects. I saw no female (pupil, teacher or secretary) in these buildings during the period of fieldwork. Should any have wanted or been required to visit she would have found the doors locked even when lessons were in progress.[7] As I found out, entrance had to be negotiated in a much more obvious way than with other teachers or in other parts of the school.

The teachers were not unfriendly or actively hostile but, rather, gave the impression that they suffered my presence with some discomfort - a discomfort which I shared since my presence continued to be noticeable and noticed long after it would have been in other subjects and locations. The brief discussions obtained with these teachers established that pupils' behaviour was qualitatively but not quantitatively different when the researcher was present - these pupils 'always had more to say than was good for them' according to one teacher so that the only difference was that what they said referred to my being present, e.g. 'Why you blushing, sir. 'Cause there's a lady?'; 'No swearing, ladies present' etc. Such comments were rare in other circumstances and then only

during the first few days of fieldwork.

The physical amenities and location of the huts, in combination with characteristics of the staff and subjects taught can be seen as encouraging and permitting the growth of a self-enclosed, somewhat introverted community whose values were at odds with those pervading most of the school. The details of this sub-culture would not have been available to most members of staff because of the extent to which they and the teachers of technical subjects kept themselves separate. In the prevailing climate of the huts even 'good' pupils became 'silly' if not 'bad'.

The researcher is no more immune from such influences than teachers or pupils. It has to be admitted that participation or observation in such circumstances was less than a pleasure.

The newer prefabricated buildings tended to be known as the sixth form block though in addition to the coffee bar and common room for the sixth formers there were, on the ground floor, a number of laboratories and small teaching rooms. The first floor contained several small rooms created by dividing up the coffee bar at some time after the building was first erected. The purpose of these rooms was to provide relatively quiet and private areas for students to work on their own or in small groups. On this floor was a small library, a staff office and staff room.

Rooms in this building were equally bare of curtains or decorations, but the style and colour of the furniture, the smaller scale and greater variety of room sizes gave the building a more 'domestic' and less anonymous atmosphere than the main building. It was generally light though often stuffy from a more than adequate heating supply.

I was fortunate in being able to use one of the private study

rooms when interviewing or administering questionnaires. Apart from the observation of lessons and staff room interactions and discussions the research was carried out in the sixth form block. Although no formal arrangement was ever made (or sought) to this effect, it soon became established that I had legitimate claim to one of the study rooms during the mid-morning and lunchtime breaks. Whenever a phase of systematic data gathering got under way students knew I could be found there. This had a number of obvious advantages. Firstly the administration of questionnaires and the Bem Sex Role Inventory took place with small groups of students rather than en masse in the classroom. Thus any difficulties students had in completing the questionnaires could be rapidly spotted and those who might have been shy to admit that they did not understand in front of large numbers of their peers were more likely to feel able to do so among a small group. Secondly the research procedures were probably completed with greater speed because arrangements could be made to see students with the near certainty that a suitable quiet and private room would be available. Thirdly, sixth form pupils took it into their heads to guard my claim to the room and on several occasions headed off fellow students and sometimes a teacher who might otherwise have come into the room. In this quite informal way privacy was safeguarded and it is probably partly as a result of knowing this that a number of students who might have felt that their reputation would be jeopardised if they were seen co-operating nevertheless did co-operate in the research. Finally, when students in Band U knew that they were all going to be involved in a particular phase of the research (as in completing a questionnaire) it was quite often unnecessary to make formal 'appointments' for students, as there was usually a number who would come along when they were free

without prior arrangement. This had disadvantages at the interviewing stage when only a proportion of the students was selected for interview and in the event a couple of students not originally in the interview sample were nonetheless interviewed. (Interviews with these volunteers are not included in the present analysis).

Schools are not built with the needs of researchers in mind and the fact that such a suitable room was available was quite fortuitous. That teachers and pupils recognised and respected the need for a private place for some aspects of the research contributed largely to the ease with which those parts were effected.

Notes

1. Particularly in response to my paper Dimensions of Gender: West Indian and Asian Adolescents Talk about 'Sex Roles', at the Conference, 'Migration and Family Processes', organised by M. Fuller, D. Louden, and A.K. Brah for the SSRC RUER, at Bristol, February 1977.

2. In this study there were more students who saw school as boring, but necessary than saw it as irrelevant (and possibly boring).

3. These are part of the Borough's policy for rehabilitating existing housing stock which is considered sub-standard.

4. Personal communication from Dr. A.M. Phizacklea and R. Miles who are conducting research in this part of the borough.

5. The selection of students to work with was guided in the first instance by the need to obtain a sample size sufficiently large to include enough males and females in each of the three ethnic groups to allow simple statistical tests to be made where appropriate, but sufficiently small to enable personal contact to be established and maintained between the researcher and students. With no other information at that time about how fifth year teaching was organised nor about the pupils themselves, form lists were scrutinised for Asian names. Several forms were selected which in combination provided enough Asian students for research purposes, but there was a shortage of non-Asian names in these classes. Thus in order to obtain a reasonable sample size of British and West Indian students a number of other classes had to be selected. Since the research was concerned to establish the effects of sex, class and gender perceptions in a school it would have biassed the work from the start to select single sex forms. Thus the second guiding principle was to choose forms which were mixed in terms of sex. Thirdly, it seemed appropriate to select students who roughly were similar in academic achievement - it would have been possible, for example to have taken some classes from Band L and some from Band U, but the problems of interpreting differences observed would have been unnecessarily exacerbated by introducing this element of differential prior academic achievement. In the event Band U proved to be the only grouping which met the criteria set. It has one distinct advantage over previous research on ethnic minorities in schools in that it provides a sample of West Indian students who were not at the outset perceived in school as the least 'academic'.

6. Another researcher, himself a teacher, makes a similar observation: 'Earlier in the year I had visited another school for a few days and had spent one day going round with one class to all their lessons. By the end of the day I was near to hysteria. Every 40 minutes we had plodded about and, somehow, as the day wore on, each successive teacher seemed more and more like the previous one. I imagine it was only a deep-seated professionalism that prevented me from shrieking at the French teacher who took the last lesson of the day'. (Gannaway, 1976, p.81)

7. There was a myth among the boys, which they frequently shared with me, that the huts were kept locked not to keep pupils away from the equipment during break and lunchtime, but because the teachers were so 'dangerous' that they had to be kept locked in. They cited the fact that the teachers locked pupils into the class during the lesson as support for this view - pupils would 'escape' unless the doors were locked, it was said. This view of technical subject teachers as peculiarly vicious is by no means limited to Torville. The details vary, but similar stories have been encountered in other schools. Gannaway records a similar perception of such staff in the school where he carried out his research. 'The structure of these stories is fairly consistent and concerns the woodwork teacher's unsuccessful attempts to keep order or to discipline someone. The teacher loses his temper and takes some wild action which rebounds upon himself, making him appear ridiculous and adding to the lack of order. ...Whenever these tales were recounted they ... evoked laughter which I would describe as partly embarrassed and guilty ... the 'mad woodwork teacher' ... gives rise to grave doubts among the pupils ... As mythical opposites the 'non-starter' and the 'mad woodwork teacher' are essentially caricatures and express only one feature of a personality. The former is female, passive and cries: the latter is male, over-active and aggressively temperamental'. (Gannaway, 1976, p.54-55).

Chapter 4

The Family Background of Students

The adolescents with whom research was carried out were approximately half of a fifth year in one comprehensive school. They constituted a particular and separate group - a 'Band' - within the fifth year which was divided into two such Bands.

Information in this chapter was obtained from two main sources:- students' answers to a questionnaire covering social, demographic, sociological and other areas;[1] supplemented and checked against school records[2]. In the case of students who were formally interviewed this information could be further checked. The official school roll for this Band was 142, with a core of 125 students on whom most of this study is based[3]. A certain amount of basic data was contained in the school records of the remaining 17 and is presented in this chapter where appropriate[4].

Sociological Characteristics Of The Whole Sample

There were 53 girls and 89 boys on the roll (51 and 88 actually attending). They ranged in age from 15 years 0 months to 16 years 1 month (mean age 15 years 7 months) with no significant differences between the sexes or ethnic groups.

Table 1 Size and sex composition of ethnic groups (n=142)

	Girls	Boys
Asian (n=33)	11	22
West Indian (n=21)	8	13
White British (n=73)	28	45
Other (n=15)	6	9
Total	53	89

Table 1 shows the distribution of students in terms of their ethnic

group membership[5]. White British students accounted for just over half the sample (51%), Asians for just under a quarter (23%) and West Indians for 15%. Altogether there were 42 immigrants, about 30% of all the students, with a majority of Asians and a minority of West Indian and Other students falling into this category (Table 2).

Table 2 Place of birth of students

	boys (n=22)	girls (n=11)	total
A. ASIANS (n=33)			
Indian sub-continent (total)	(5)	(3)	(8)
India	3	2	5
Pakistan	2	1	3
Africa (total)	(15)	(7)	(22)
Kenya	9	3	12
Uganda	3	4	7
Other Africa	3	0	3
Britain	(2)	(1)	(3)
B. WEST INDIANS (n=21)	(n=13)	(n=8)	
West Indies (total)	(5)	(3)	(8)
Jamaica	3	3	6
Barbados	2	0	2
Britain	8	5	13
C. OTHER (n=15)	(n=9)	(n=6)	
Britain	6	4	10
E. Africa	0	1	1
W. Indies	2	0	2
Sri Lanka	1	0	1
No information	0	1	1

All Asian, West Indian and Other students, British-born or immigrant, had parents born outside Britain (Tables 3A to 3D).

Table 3A Parents' place of birth: ASIAN STUDENTS (n=33)

		Students born in: Britain (n=3)		Indian sub-continent (n=8)		E. Africa (n=22)		Total	
		mother	father	mother	father	mother	father	mother	father
Parents born:	Indian S/C	3	3	6	6	10	13	19	22
	E. Africa	0	0	0	0	9	6	9	6
	no information	0	0	2	2	3	3	5	5

Table 3B Parents' place of birth: WEST INDIAN STUDENTS (n=21)

	Students born in: Britain (n=13)		W. Indies (n=8)		Total	
	mother	father	mother	father	mother	father
Parent born WI(t)	13	13	7	7	20	20
(i) Barbados	(4)	(4)	(2)	(2)	(6)	(6)
(ii) Jamaica	(9)	(9)	(5)	(5)	(14)	(14)
No information	0	0	1	1	1	1

Table 3C Parents' place of birth: WHITE BRITISH STUDENTS* (n=73)

Both parents British	55
1 parent British - total	9
(i) mother	(2)
(ii) father	(7)
Both S. Irish	1
No information	8

* All students born in Britain and with British nationality.

Table 3D Parents' place of birth: OTHER STUDENTS (n=15)

	Students born in: Britain (n=10)		Elsewhere (n=4)		No information		Total	
	mother	father	mother	father	mother	father	mother	father
Parents born: Cyprus	4	4	0	0	0	0	4	4
West Indies	2	2	2	2	0	0	4	4
Europe other than Britain*	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2
Sri Lanka	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
India	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
No information	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3

* Fathers from Poland and Portugal, mothers both Greek; no information about nationality of student nor whether fathers are naturalised British.

Students' Families

Of the 125 students about whom there is information 113 were living in a 'normal' family, i.e. one in which there were two parents; 11 (approximately 1:11) came from single-parent families (3 male- and 8 female-headed); and 1 student lived with neither parent, having been sent to live with a relative in Britain for the duration of his schooling (see Table 4).

In a large proportion of cases, 89 (71% of students) mothers were normally in paid employment and a minority of students (26%) lived in families where the mother was normally a full-time housewife. Of those mothers who were in paid employment the majority, 55 (62%) worked full-time and virtually all worked outside the home - 82 (92%) (see Table 5).

Table 4 Students not living with both parents (ex 125)

	Living with father (n=3)	Living with mother (n=8)	Living with other relative (n=1)	Total (n=12)
Asian boys	1	1	1	3
girls	0	1	0	1
White British boys	1	2	0	3
girls	1	1	0	2
West Indian boys	0	0	0	0
girls	0	2	0	2
Other boys	0	0	0	0
girls	0	1	0	1
Total boys	2	3	1	6
girls	1	5	0	6

For reasons which are elaborated elsewhere in this report[6] it was decided to analyse social class of students using the occupation of both parents in those cases where both normally work. Where students came from one-breadwinner families the conventional means of deciding class are used.

Table 5 Employment patterns of working mothers (n=89)

	full-time	part-time	ex
Asian (total)	(13)	(2)	(28)
girls	4	0	10
boys	9	2	18
West Indian (total)	(13)	(6)	(20)
girls	6	2	8
boys	7	4	12
White British (total)	(21)	(25)	(65)
girls	8	10	27
boys	13	15	38
Other (total)	(8)	(1)	(12)
girls	3	0	4
boys	5	1	8
Total girls	21	12	49
boys	34	22	76

The present sample can be designated as coming from families which were clearly manual - 50 (40%); clearly non-manual - 33 (26%). Eight students cannot be classified as there was no parent in paid employment and the remaining 34 (27%) had ambiguous class status depending on whether father's or mother's occupation is taken as primary. Table 6 sets out socio-economic class of student's families using these alternative bases[7].

Table 6 Students' social class, using alternative bases (n=117)

	(i) where there is discrepancy, FATHER'S job defines class		(ii) where there is discrepancy MOTHER'S job defines class	
	manual	non-manual	manual	non-manual
Asians (n=24)	12	12	16	8
West Indians (n=20)	18	2	12	8
White British (n=62)	42	20	23	39
Others (n=11)	5	6	6	5
Total	77 (66%)	40 (34%)	57 (49%)	60 (51%)

It is thought that the presence of siblings may be related to gender-role conceptions[8]. Most students had at least one sibling and there were just 8 who were 'only' children (Table 7). Perhaps the sex of sibling(s) is more relevant than the number.

Table 8 shows that approximately half of all students had at least one brother and one sister while another quarter had at least one sister (if a boy) or a brother (if a girl). Thus about threequarters of the students lived in a mixed sex environment at home. About 1:5 students had only sib(s) of the same sex as themselves. These, with the 'only' children, were students who lived in a single-sex environment at home.

Table 7 Number of siblings, by ethnic group and sex (n=125)

	No sibs (n=8)	1-3 sibs (n=92)	4+ sibs (n=25)
Asian (total)	(0)	(21)	(7)
girls	0	7	3
boys	0	14	4
West Indian (total)	(0)	(10)	(10)
girls	0	4	4
boys	0	6	6
White British (total)	(7)	(51)	(7)
girls	3	18	6
boys	4	33	1
Other (total)	(1)	(10)	(1)
girls	0	3	1
boys	1	7	0
Total girls (n=49)	3	32	14
boys (n=76)	5	60	11

Table 8 Sex environment of students' families (sex of siblings)(n=125)

	Mixed sex environment		Single sex environment	
	Had brother(s) and sister(s) (n=60)	Had other sex sib(s) only (n=33)	Own sex sib(s) only (n=24)	No sibs (n=8)
Asian (total)	(17)	(7)	(4)	(0)
girls	8	1	1	0
boys	9	6	3	0
West Indian (total)	(14)	(4)	(2)	(0)
girls	4	2	2	0
boys	10	2	0	0
White British (total)	(25)	(18)	(15)	(7)
girls	11	7	6	3
boys	14	11	9	4
Other (total)	(4)	(4)	(3)	(1)
girls	2	1	1	0
boys	2	3	2	1
Total girls (n=49)	25	11	10	3
boys (n=76)	35	22	14	5

In many respects the students' families apparently conformed substantially to current textbook typifications of the nuclear family. But underlying the outward tranquility there was evidence of considerable past or present family disruption. Some 26% of students, white British as well as West Indian and Asian, had experienced periods of separation from one or both parents as a result of migration, marital breakdown or other causes. Others had themselves migrated though not been separated from their family during the move. Others lived, or had done so, in families where one parent was permanently absent because of death or divorce (Tables 9 and 10). Yet others were living in two parent families where one was a surrogate e.g. a step-parent (Table 11). There was, in short, a diversity of family experience.

Table 9 Students who had experienced temporary* or permanent absence of parent(s) (ex 125)

	One parent absent (n=18)		Both parents absent (n=15)	Ex
	Same sex	Other sex		
Asian (total)	(3)	(4)	(3)	28
girls	0	3	0	10
boys	3	1	3	18
West Indian (total)	(0)	(2)	(6)	20
girls	0	2	3	8
boys	0	0	3	12
White British (total)	(4)	(4)	(4)	65
girls	0	2	2	27
boys	4	2	2	38
Other (total)	(0)	(1)	(2)	12
girls	0	1	0	4
boys	0	0	2	8
Total girls	0	8	5	49
boys	7	3	10	76

* Absence of less than one year is not included.

Table 10 Number of years parent(s) had been absent (Means)

	parent of same sex	parent of other sex
Asian girls (n=3)	n/a	3.3
boys (n=7)	3.0	1.0
West Indian girls (n=5)	5.0	6.5
boys (n=3)	3.3	3.7
White British girls (n=4)	7.0	7.0
boys (n=8)	2.7	2.5
Other girls (n=1)	n/a	5.0
boys (n=2)	5.0	5.0

The interest here is not in discussing how typical these students are, nor in arguing that such families are pathological[9], but simply to note the diversity and, since many writers have stressed the importance of adult role models of both sexes in the development of gender-role perceptions and self-characterisation in young children, to relate an individual student's family experience to her/his self-image and perceptions of masculinity/femininity (see chapter 10).

Table 11 Students living with surrogate parent(s) (n=8 ex 125)

	Step-mother	Step-father	Adoptive parents
English girls	1	1	0
English boys	3	1	1
'Other' boys	0	0	1
Total	4	2	2

Broad generalisations about all students obscure the variety of experience and so each ethnic group will be discussed in turn.

White British Students

This was the single largest group in the sample, accounting for just over a half of all students. They were distinguished from all other groups by a very high degree of geographical stability. 56 students were born in London and had never moved outside, while 6 London-born having lived outside London for a period had subsequently returned. Three were born elsewhere in Britain and, having migrated to London, had not since moved[10]. (This lack of mobility was generally true of any British-born student, whatever his/her ethnic background - see Table 12).

Table 12 Migration history of British born students (n=90)

	Never migrated	1 migration	2 migrations	3+ migrations
Asian (n=3)	3	0	0	0
West Indian (n=13)	11	0	1	1
White British (n=65)	56	3	5	1
Other (n=9)	9	0	0	0
Total	79	3	6	2

It is clear that a proportion of these students had experienced one or more of the phenomena which are used here to measure family disruption. Altogether 14 students (22% of white British) had experienced some discontinuity in their family life. Two girls had migrated to or from London with their families; one further girl had lived with her mother only since the death of her father 13 years previously; another girl, now living with her father only, had previously lived three years with surrogate parents following the death of her mother. But these were exceptions. By far the commonest cause of disruption (9 cases) was the breakdown of the parents' relationship with each other. From this resulted periods of separation from one parent, and in some cases students had lived

first with one then with the other parent. Six of these students were currently living with one natural and one step-parent, while the other three were in single-parent families (refer to Tables 4, 9, 10, 11, 12).

This pattern of disruption to a student's life as a result of marital breakdown, with consequent periods of separation from parent(s) and associated migrations, was different from the modal patterns in the ethnic minority students, as will be shown later.

White British students were also somewhat different in other aspects of their family life. Apart from Asians they were more likely to have a mother who was a full-time housewife. Where their mother was in paid employment she was more likely to be part- rather than full-time employed and much more likely to be thus employed than the mothers of any other students (see Table 5).

White British students accounted for almost three quarters of the cases where social class was ambiguous because of the differences in mother's and father's job classification. 22 students were clearly manual, 19 clearly non-manual and 21 were of ambiguous class location. In twenty of these cases the mother's job was of higher status than father's (refer to Table 6).

A number of family types can be discerned: firstly, a small group (15 students) who lived in two-parent families where there was a sole breadwinner - the textbook nuclear family. These were, not surprisingly, more likely to be of non-manual class location; secondly, students with both parents working in jobs of similar status (n=22, equal numbers of manual and non-manual). This group was the largest, but only just: the third group (n=21) was made up of those who had both parents working but where mother outstripped father in terms of class (in all but one case). In this group the fathers were almost exclusively in manual jobs and the mothers in non-manual; a fourth group were students from one-parent families

(n=5) (in which, by definition, only one parent was normally in paid employment).

White British students (see Table 7) were least likely to come from families in which there was a large number of children (defined as 4 or more sibs); in fact 60% came from families in which there were 1 to 3 children only. Partly as a consequence of this white British students were the most likely to live in a single sex environment at home (Table 8) - over 1:3 had either no sibs or only those of the same sex as themselves.

Asian Students

They constituted the next largest group and their most obvious distinguishing features were, firstly, the high number of immigrants - (91%) and, secondly, that they were predominantly East African Asians (Gujurati speaking) - see Table 2. In many ways this made the sample very different from those of most other researchers of Asians in Britain[11] (but see Tambs-Lyche, 1975). There can be very little sense in which these students were representative of all other Indo-Pakistanis in Britain, but they were nevertheless an interesting group in their own right and perhaps the more so since, to my knowledge, little or nothing has been documented about this group of Asians in Britain[12].

The migration history of the Asians was somewhat more varied and differed in some important respects from that of other immigrant students in the rest of the sample. In common with other groups, the majority (60%) had moved directly from their country of birth to settle in London. But while this was the exclusive pattern for West Indians, there was a substantial minority (10 students) who had migrated more than once - 5 from Africa to India and thence to Britain; 2 from one African country to another before settling in Britain; 2 from Africa to another town/city in Britain before arriving in London; and one boy who had moved from India

to Africa, then back to India before settling in London (see Table 13).

Table 13 Migration history of students born outside Britain (n=35)*

	1 migration	2 migrations	3+ migrations
Asian (n=25)	15	9	1
West Indian (n=7)	7	0	0
Others (n=3)	3	0	0
Total	25	9	1

* Total number of immigrant students = 42. Figures in this table fall short because 7 immigrant students did not complete the questionnaire from which these data are drawn.

Asian students were also different from West Indians in how the migration was undertaken - despite the large number of immigrants and instances of migration the majority of students (15 of the 28 migrants on whom there is information) accompanied their parents and were not parted from either parent as a result of the move. They were less likely to have been separated from both parents (either concurrently or on different occasions). Where a parent had been absent the mean number of years was smaller, and it is noteworthy that where Asian students were separated from their mothers it was for relatively short periods of time (see Tables 9 and 10). This perhaps suggests that the mothering role was seen as of particular importance.

Although migration from one country to another represents great upheaval to the whole family, for the majority of students it had not created any discontinuity in parental care and contact. This is in marked contrast to West Indian students' experience of migration.

However, there had been a degree of family disruption for 10 students (36%) in terms of those living in single-parent families (n=3) or without either parent (n=1) or who had ever been separated from one or both parents (n=10).

Table 14 Age at which immigrant students settled in Britain (n=42)

	Under 5	Under 11	11+	No inf.	Total
A. Asians					
(i) African born					
girls	0	5	2	0	7
boys	1	8	5	1	15
(ii) Indian/ Pakistani					
girls	2	1	0	0	3
boys	1	3	1	0	5
Total Asian immigrant	(4)	(17)	(8)	(1)	(30)
B. West Indian					
girls	2	1	0	0	3
boys	1	4	0	0	5
Total West Indian immigrant	(3)	(5)	(0)	(0)	(8)
C. Other					
girls	0	0	0	1	1
boys	1	2	0	0	3
Total Other immigrant	(1)	(2)	(0)	(1)	(4)

A higher proportion of Asian than West Indian students migrated to Britain after they were of school age and thus while the migration may have been smoothly effected in terms of family stability, it represented for more Asians an associated discontinuity in their schooling (see Tables 14 and 15).

Asian students were the most likely to have a mother who was a full-time housewife, but in the cases where she was employed she was most likely of all employed mothers to be working full-time (see Table 5).

The social class location of students with one or both parents employed was as follows:[13] clearly manual 12, clearly non-manual 8, and 4 of ambiguous status. Contrary to the pattern in other groups when father and mother were in jobs classified differently Asian fathers were in higher status jobs than their wife (see Table 6).

Table 15 Number of years schooling in Britain: all students (n=142)
(maximum possible = 11 years)

	No. of years					
	11	6-10	5	4 or less	mean yrs.	range
	(all sec'y + all prim'y)	(all sec'y + some prim'y)	(all sec'y)	(some sec'y)		
Asian						
girls	3	4	1	3	7.4	3.5-11
boys	4	10	2	6	6.8	1-11
West Indian						
girls	6	1	0	1	10.1	5-11
boys	8	5*	0	0	9.6	6.5-11
White British						
girls	28	0	0	0	11.0	-
boys	45	0	0	0	11.0	-
Other						
girls	6	0	0	0	11.0	-
boys	7	2	0	0	10.4	8-11
Total	107	22	3	10		

* includes 1 with some secondary and all primary.

The modal family type was two-parents, both in employment (n=15, 54% of all families on which there is information); followed by two-parent, male-breadwinner (8, 29%); there was a small group of 1 parent families (n=3, head of one only was employed) created by the death of the second parent and there was one family with neither parent employed.

One in four Asian students came from a large family (defined as 4 or more sibs) a higher proportion than white British but lower than West Indians. And partly as a consequence very few students (see Tables 11 and 12) lived in a single sex environment at home. The great majority had at least one brother and sister.

West Indian Students

Approximately one in seven students was West Indian, making them the smallest of the three ethnic groups under study. Students came solely

from Jamaica and Barbados, or in the case of British-born students, were the children of parents who were from these two islands. There was no instance of inter-island marriage among the parents (Tables 1, 2, 3B).

A minority of students was migrant (38%) and of those who migrated to Britain all had come straight to Britain from the island on which they were born. Altogether half the West Indian students had experienced one or more discontinuity in their family life. Of these, two may be considered minimal - one boy migrated as a small child (aged 2) with both parents straight to London and had not since moved; the other case was a boy born in Britain who migrated with his family to Canada (where the family moved once) and returned with his family to settle in London (Table 12). If these are excluded there are 8 (40% of West Indians) who had been separated from one or both parents. As a result of marital breakdown two girls lived in father-absent households; and the other six students had experienced periods of separation from both parents simultaneously for periods ranging from 1 to 10 years' separation. For West Indian students migration had generally meant both their parents moving to Britain while they remained in the care of surrogate parents before themselves migrating to join their parents in Britain (Tables 9 and 10). More girls had been affected and for longer periods of time.

One of the major divisions between West Indian students was between the British-born who show a predominantly stable picture - 11 had not moved outside London and of the 2 who had, one did so with his family and was never separated from either parent and the other spent 4 years as a small child with surrogate parents in the West Indies before returning to her parents. One further British-born girl lived in a one-parent family.

In contrast the immigrant West Indians showed a consistent pattern of lengthy periods of separation from parents and consequent discontinuity in parental care and contact.

In their present family life West Indian students were somewhat different from both white British and Asian students. Virtually all had mothers in paid employment (95%), although nearly a third of West Indian mothers worked part-time - this was the highest proportion of employed mothers and the second highest proportion (below white British) of mothers in part-time employment (Table 5). This is a particularly impressive figure when size of family is considered - West Indian students came from relatively large families. Half had 4 or more siblings while as many as 70% (n=14) came from families in which there were 4 or more children. Put another way West Indians accounted for 10 of the 25 large families, and in this they were noticeably different from the white British students.

They were also demonstrably of lower socio-economic status with 12 (60%) clearly manual and 2 (10%) non-manual and 6 (30%) of ambiguous class status. Like their white British peers students whose parents were in differently classified jobs had mothers whose jobs were of higher status than their fathers (see Table 6). Unlike the white British, though, this latter group was too small a proportion, even if one takes mother's job as primary in these instances, for the West Indian group to become predominantly non-manual.

There were really only two major family types among the West Indians; firstly, two-parents, both employed in similarly classified jobs (n=8, 7 manual, 1 non-manual); secondly, two-parent families where mother's job outstripped father's (n=6, mothers exclusively non-manual). There were two minor family types - the two single-parent families in which the female head was employed and 1 family of the textbook variety where the father was the sole breadwinner in a two-parent family. (Note that 3 students who had both parents in employment were not counted here since there was insufficient information about their jobs to classify them accurately into either of the major family types).

The great majority of West Indian students lived in a mixed sex environment at home. They are the least likely of all groups to have no sib or only same-sex sibs.

'Other' Students

As might be expected this was a rather miscellaneous collection of students. The single recognisable group within it were the four children of Greek Cypriot parents. It does not really make much sense to talk about them as a group, but data is given at this point, mainly to demonstrate that Asian and West Indian students were not the only ethnic minorities in the school, and partly to establish that their very variety made it impossible to aggregate them into a recognisable and meaningful whole. Approximately 1 in 11 students was not White British, Asian or West Indian (as defined for this study). No student in this category had either parent born in Britain (see Table 3D) although information was not available for three students; and five were themselves immigrants (Table 2C).

In subsequent discussions, 'other' students are omitted.

* * * * * *

It may be pertinent at this point to make some comment about the fact that I shall not give detailed information concerning the social background of teachers. Throughout this thesis when they are referred to it is usually in terms of their shared characteristics in their capacity as teachers. It became obvious during the research that teachers at Torville had enough in common with regard to their work that they were able to talk to each other with some mutual understanding. As another writer has observed:

> 'Teachers are concerned with a number of educational objectives - intellectual, social, emotional and others. We would have different priorities in different areas of schooling but would probably all agree that the major concern of the teacher is enabling the child to maximise his chances for academic achievement' (Thomas 1974, p.929).

Teachers may vary (as they did at Torville) in the relative importance they attach to these objectives, in their understanding of how best to achieve them and in the standards they use to judge their success or failure. However, it was in the light of shared rather than opposing concerns that most sense could be made of the discussions and disagreements which took place between teachers at Torville.

The danger in concentrating on teachers' shared values is that it can contribute to the view that they are an undifferentiated group, homogenous in all respects. It was quite clear that such was not the case at Torville. Within the staff rooms and when they were at leisure to choose, teachers would group together around some interest or activity which appealed to some of them but which was of no (or only limited) appeal to others. These might be activities in which they engaged with teaching colleagues during school hours, such as playing the guitar, going to the pub, discussing their teaching subject with a fellow subject teacher, playing bridge, or motorcycle maintenance. Cutting across these were other groupings based on a shared interest in activities in which they took part out of school (and only exceptionally with colleagues) but which could nevertheless be talked about during school hours. Activities which temporarily or more permanently drew together the like-minded included drinking, gardening, parties, opera, do-it-yourself, sport, comparing routes to school, dancing, television programmes, sex, holidays, theatre, political demonstrations. As this list suggests their lives outside school were hardly homogenous nor were their domestic lives and living arrangements as uniformly 'respectable' as the slightly worthy sounding objectives which they shared in school might suggest.

No attempt will be made here to document the range and frequency of activities which differentiated teachers from each other nor to describe the variety of groupings which could be discerned among the staff. Such differences may very well relate to the specific ways in which a teacher carries out and conceives of his/her work in school and particularly to interaction with pupils. The present research is more concerned with how certain 'gross' characteristics of pupils and teachers, such as sex-class and ethnicity may override their personal idiosyncracies in many aspects of school life. It is less concerned to spell out the minutiae of classroom interaction as such. It would be an enormous undertaking to analyse the interrelationship of idiosyncratic personal values and values which are shared because of a person's membership of a particular category or group of people. The decision was made to limit the task to spelling out some of these relationships with regard to pupils. That teachers share values by dint of their common work is treated as a legitimate assumption (and chapter 6 analyses what those values are); it is equally assumed that sharing the status of pupil does not necessarily involve shared perspectives and thus it seemed fruitful to examine the relationship of adolescents' personal characteristics and values to their activities and experience as pupils.

The chapter which follows examines the way that teachers' sex-class and ethnicity structures their position in school and suggests that the location of male relative to female and black relative to white teachers may be viewed as part of the general learning environment for pupils in the school.

Notes

1. A copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix III.

2. Where data from the two sources conflicted and after further checking with a student, if the information could not otherwise be verified, I took the students' replies as representing the more accurate data. (School records were only sporadically up-dated.)

3. The shortfall is accounted for as follows:

	White British		Asian		West Indian		Other	
	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls
On roll but apparently left (n=3)	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1
Left during period of fieldwork (n=2)	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parents' permission to take part not obtained (n=9)	4	-	3	1	1	-	-	-
Questionnaire unusable (n=2)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Absentee (attended school 5 days in 7 months) (n=1)	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	7	1	4	1	1	0	1	2

4. This usually included date and place of birth, nationality, age of starting school in Britain. To avoid confusion in the tabular presentations n is always given.

5. Students were defined as 'Asian' on the basis of their names. Two judges were used (100% inter-judge agreement). Further information was available on place of birth of student and parent(s). This provides a check on the accuracy of judgement of the one judge (Ms. A. K. Brah) who did not have access to this information when allocating students to the Asian group. There was total agreement between her judgement of a student as Asian and the definition of a student as Asian on the basis of his/her parents' place of birth and other information available to the present author. I should like to record my thanks to Ms. Brah for her help in this matter. Students were defined as West Indian if they were themselves born in the West Indies or were British-born, of parents born in the West

Indies. 4 students of 'Asian West Indian' origin are excluded from this category and are counted in the 'other' category. White British students are those who were born in Britain, of known British nationality and who are white, irrespective of parents' place of birth. Other includes 2 Asians of West Indian birth; 2 Asians, born in Britain of West Indian born parents, 3 British-born Greek Cypriots and 8 students whose ethnicity and/or place of birth could not be accurately ascertained.

6. See 'Class Matters' in Chapter 7.

7. Extended presentation of data concerning social class is given in Appendix IV.

8. This literature was briefly discussed in chapter 1.

9. I have no means of knowing how typical or representative of the general population this sample was in terms of the diversity of family types and family experiences. The proportion of Torville students coming from single parent families was 8.8% (i.e. 11 of the 125 students on whom there was information). In the Ward from which students were drawn there were 120 such families, which represented 10.7% of the total number of married couples with children. In Greater London at the time of the 1971 census 24% of the 'chief economic supporters of family' were women: this figure included, but was not exclusively made up of, single parent families. Conventional assumptions in sociology are not much help in trying to determine the typicality of Torville students' family types - typifications of the modal family are both prescriptive and ethnocentric. Consequently greater research effort has gone into analysing 'the black family' as it compares with the supposed modal (and 'normal') type in the white population. The greater proportion of female-headed black households is taken as an indicator of deviance from the white norm and is assumed to be evidence of a pathological matriarchalism in the black population (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963; Moynihan 1965). These assumptions have been challenged by a number of writers (Schneider, 1968; Staples, 1971; Tanner, 1974). This assumption of the norm for white families is precisely only an assumption since there is very little rigorous work analysing differences in family type and structure among the white population. The literature based on these assumptions therefore serves to under-estimate the incidence of family disruption (as defined here) in the white population and to over-estimate its incidence and significance in black families.

10. The amount of within-London migration for any student is unknown because of the way the questionnaire was worded. Even if there had been a high incidence of mobility within London throughout the whole sample one would predict that, in general, such migrations would represent less potentially traumatic or unsettling experiences than migration between countries.

11. See Ballard, 1973; Ballard and Ballard, 1977; Dahya, 1974; Jeffery, 1976; Saifullah Khan, 1976 and 1977.

12. For example, the recent C.R.C. report 'Between Two Cultures: A Study of Relationships Between Generations in the Asian Community', C.R.C., 1976, makes no specific analysis of East African teenagers.

13. I am convinced that social class categorisation of immigrant parents, using the Registrar General's classification, yields very limited data. Social class location is commonly used as a convenient shorthand for certain features of life-style, attitudes, child-rearing practices, etc. which are found or assumed to be common in one social class and which mark that class as systematically different from another. Within the indigenous population on whom the original classification is based this may be legitimate, though even among British people 'objective' social class tells us little about self-defined class. The latter may be more predictive of attitudes and behaviour than the former. There are, as a recent writer also points out (Roberts, 1978), inherent difficulties in using the existing classification systems with regard to women since the classifications are based on the way men's jobs are distributed - with a relatively sex-segregated job market many women are located in different sectors of the economy, employed in different jobs from men so that the classification 'works' less well for those jobs. The recent British classification of occupations (Goldthorpe and Hope, 1974) studiously avoids these issues and is quite explicitly based on the distribution of men's jobs. These difficulties are probably magnified with an immigrant population - 'objective' social class based on job in Britain tells us nothing of their previous occupational experience and thus of their class location in the country from which they migrated. It is not axiomatic that immigrants will be in similar jobs in Britain to the ones they had elsewhere, nor that they use their 'objective' class position here to define their class to themselves - the person who was a teacher in India and is now a bus driver in Britain, say, may well regard himself as middle-class. Lacking material on these matters I include data on the social class of immigrants with these limitations in mind and for the little worth they may otherwise have. See also Dickinson et al., 1975, p.127/8, who make a similar point about the Registrar General's classification and its application to ethnic minorities.

Chapter 5

Dimensions of Sex Among the Teaching Staff

The central interest of this study lies in the effects of sex-class and gender on students in a particular school. As has already been suggested it is unlikely that students will suspend their beliefs about the appropriate and inappropriate values and behaviours for the sexes during their time at school. Nor is it any more likely that teachers would do so. The following chapters try to explore the ways in which the fact of being male or female structures students' and teachers' experiences in school(particularly but not exclusively with regard to pupil-teacher interactions) and in what ways knowledge of pupils' self conception and perceptions of gender roles is helpful or necessary to an understanding of their location and behaviour in the school.

It will be recognised that such issues may not depend solely on sex-class and that social class and ethnic status (membership of an ethnic minority or majority) are potentially important structural and experiential variables. No prior assumption is made of the pre-eminence of any one of these and whenever possible the analysis takes into account all three. As will be demonstrated their importance, singly or in combination, varies from situation to situation. It should not be inferred that in locating this study in school, I believe 'the school' or teachers to be responsible for creating either the material differences between black and white, male and female, working and middle-class, or the ideologies which underpin and 'justify' those differences. Rather, the aim is to try to understand in a concrete setting some of the processes of socialisation which relate to sex-class and gender roles.

The notion of a hidden curriculum (Becker et al 1961; Becker et al 1968; Snyder 1971) has been invoked by a number of authors concerned with the way in which school reproduces the divisions of class, race and sex in the wider society. The hidden curriculum is defined as 'a term used to refer to those aspects of learning in schools that are unofficial or unintentional, or undeclared consequences of the way in which teachers organize and execute teaching and learning'. (Davies and Meighan 1975, p.171). There have been disagreements about whether the hidden curriculum communicates the same message to all pupils (Jackson 1968) or whether it is different for different groups of children (Frazier and Sadker 1973). The balance of evidence suggests that the hidden curriculum is differentiated along the dimensions of class, sex and ethnicity.

The value of this notion is that it directs attention to specific areas in school in which covert messages may be transmitted - teaching materials, teachers' attitudes and expectations of particular groups of pupils, teachers' behaviour towards specified groups of pupils and the status of particular groups of teachers.

Taking each of these in turn the literature may be briefly summarised as follows. Teaching materials (reading schemes, textbooks) are ethnocentric, premissed on a white population, (Bolton and Laishey 1972; Dixon, 1977: Dummett 1973; Glendenning 1971; Hatch 1962; Pollins 1960; White 1971); sexist in the sense that there is a bias towards males and an uncritical presentation of 'traditional' roles for the sexes (Davies and Meighan 1975; Frazier and Sadker 1973; Lobban 1974 and 1975; Loftus 1974; Nightingale 1974; Dixon 1977; Childrens' Rights Workshop 1976) and incorporate middle class values and lifestyles with a virtual exclusion of anything relating to the experiences of the working-class urban child (Dixon 1977)

It is argued that school thus puts a seal of approval on certain lifestyles and values while devaluing alternative attitudes, behaviours and ways of living.

These tendencies have been well documented and no systematic attempt has been made in the present study to analyse textbooks or other teaching materials. At Torville those teaching in the history department seemed particularly aware of the biases in the C.S.E. and O level syllabus and on several separate occasions I noted that a history teacher brought these biases to the notice of pupils, stating explicitly that the view of history which pupils were being taught for their exam was 'partial-it's history from the white man's point of view and there are other interpretations' as one put it. One teacher had a personal library of books which were not biassed in this way and which he offered to any pupil who expressed any interest. In the staffroom, too, history teachers scrutinised textbooks lying around and on occasions discussions about the content were initiated with members of their own and other departments.

Teachers' attitudes, behaviour and expectations of pupils are believed to vary according to the ethnicity, social class and sex of pupils. There is a considerable literature in this field dealing with the consequences of 'teacher expectancy' on pupils' academic achievement and sense of self-worth (Hargreaves 1977[a]; Thomas 1974). This is a dimension of considerable importance and is dealt with in the two chapters immediately following.

Finally there is evidence that at both primary and secondary levels the teaching profession displays the same disparity in power and prestige between men and women as is current throughout society

(Byrne 1975; Dale 1971; Plowden 1967). This aspect, of teachers themselves as part of the hidden curriculum, is detailed later in this chapter.

The notion of a hidden curriculum is a useful organising concept for certain aspects of the moral climate of the school, but it should be recognised that its exclusive concentration on the unofficial or unintended consequences might divert attention from two other equally important factors in education - pupils' values and the official curriculum.

Pupils' (active, or passive) participation in the process of socialisation, the values which they hold prior to attending school mediate both their experience of the tendencies underlined in the discussion above and the meanings they attach to them. In the present study this dimension is accorded equal weight to that of 'teacher expectancy' and is explored in detail in later chapters.

Similarly, to concentrate on the hidden under-pinnings of the moral climate of the school is to ignore the extent to which a sex-differentiated curriculum has been officially part of educational policy (Wolpe 1974; Marks 1976) until the enactment of the Sex Discrimination legislation of 1975. Official sanctioning of separate curricula for the social classes has been an element in British educational policy but there is little evidence that, at the official level, this survived as long as differentiation on the basis of sex (Marks 1976). There is also evidence that at the primary level actual sex-differentiation of the curriculum is greater than encouraged by the official policy (Plowden 1967) and a survey undertaken by the D.E.S. in 1973 reports considerable differences in the subjects

offered to girls and boys in secondary schools (single- and mixed-sex) (D.E.S. 1975).

Having spelt out these limitations it is worthwhile considering to what extent these assertions about the hidden curriculum, the tendencies to encourage (or not discourage) separate spheres for particular groupings of pupils can be seen at Torville School. In the process it will be found necessary to elaborate and modify the conclusions of previous researches in these areas.

Before turning to teachers' and pupils' values it will be as well to document the material differences in status between teachers at the school on the understanding that the location of male and female and of ethnic minority group teachers provides pupils with unofficial but highly visible evidence of the 'proper place' for male and female and black and white teachers.

Their location is here measured in terms of the subjects they teach and their official and visible status in the school hierarchy. It was decided to concentrate on these aspects because the intricacies of status-grading within the staff were largely hidden from students and would anyway have to be shown, empirically, to have been relevant to students.[1]

The argument to be pursued here is three-fold: despite almost equal numbers of male and female staff in the whole school, women were to be found disproportionately in lower status rungs of the official hierarchy; female teachers were over-represented/concentrated in certain school subjects such that these might reasonably be viewed as 'fit for women' and possibly therefore not for men. Similarly women teachers were noticeably absent from certain other school subjects such that students might infer that these were not suitable for women

(D.E.S., 1975). Lessons which students, in their choice of school subjects showed they had absorbed; and, there were relatively few teachers in this school who were not white and it seems reasonable to suggest that one item on the 'hidden curriculum' could be the inference that school was 'really' a place for white people, properly, teachers are white.

The Relative Status of Female and Male Teachers at Torville School

During the school year in which fieldwork took place there was an official staff establishment of 96, comprising 94 full-time and 4 part-time teachers, of whom 51 were men (accounting for 50½ posts) and 47 women (accounting for 45½ posts)[2].

Status in the official hierarchy

There were 53 positions whose occupancy confers high status made up as follows:- for administrative duties (head, deputies, senior teachers, charge of a building) 8 posts; pastoral work in the House system, 8; heads of department, 19; and deputy heads of department, 18[3]. Forty eight people occupied these positions and as Table 1 demonstrates more men than women had a position of some status, 51% of men compared with 47% of women[4].

Table 1.

Official Status of Teachers, by Sex (Academic year 1975/76)

	Male (n=51)	Female (n=47)	Total (n=98)
Very senior*	6	4	10
Senior**	14	6	20
Fairly Senior$	6	12	18
No special status†	25	25	50

Continued over.....

Table 1 cont'd....

(X^2 (corrected) = 3.80, 3 d.f. not significant)

Notes: * Head; deputy heads; senior teachers; teachers in charge of a building; teachers with concurrent responsibility in both department and house.

** Head of department; head of house.

$ Deputy head of department; deputy head of house

+ Assistant teacher

This masks somewhat the differentials in status, for among those holding some position of status women were under-represented in the senior rungs ('very senior' and 'senior'), being outnumbered by 2:1, and over-represented in the lower rungs of the hierarchy where they outnumbered men by over 2:1. This can be shown in another way. To some extent positions in the top reaches of the hierarchy are bound to include some women simply because a number of posts are reserved for a person of a particular sex in order to maintain a sex balance at the top. But in those posts which are open to competition irrespective of sex - notably head and deputy head of department - the relatively low status of women is much clearer. Table 2 summarises the situation. Men were three times more likely to be head of department than deputy head of department; and three times more likely than women to be head of department.

Table 2.

Posts of Responsibility Open to Competition Irrespective of Sex, by Sex of Occupant.* (Academic year 1975/76)

	Male (n=17)	Female (n=16)	Total (n=33)
Head of department	13	4	17
Deputy head of depart.	4	12	16

(X^2 (corrected) = 6.79, 1 d.f. significant at .01)

* These figures exclude Head of Department and deputy for Girls' P.E., and Boys' P.E. (4 posts) since these are not open to both sexes.

It is perhaps noteworthy that in minority subjects where there was just one teacher in the school the 2 males warranted head of department status (Photography, Careers) while the female was awarded deputy head of department status (Needlework).

There is, of course, a complex of reasons to explain why women are thus located - the relationship between high status in the hierarchy and such factors as college or university qualifications, age, years in service, individual career options, ability to be geographically mobile, appointments procedures, individual or collective prejudice against women etc., are a few of the more obvious. But for present purposes it matters less <u>why</u> the sexes were distributed in the hierarchy as they were than that women visibly had inferior status to their male colleagues.

Evidence from one school year might be thought to be rather scanty evidence for concluding that there were significant differences in the status of male and female teachers. Analysis was made of the sex of holders of status positions at Torville for two of the four previous years during which Band U students had attended the school[5].

Reference to Tables 1A and 1B indicates that in 1972 and 1974 the absolute number of males with some position of special status was greater than females, but as was the case for 1975/6 the difference does not reach statistical significance. Tables 2A and 2B summarise the position of male and female teachers in these posts of rank which are open to competition between the sexes. The trend is in the same direction as for the year of fieldwork; that is there was a greater number of males in the head of department status rank and a greater number of females at deputy head of department level. The figures for 1974 do not reach statistical significance but those for 1972, as was the case for 1975/6, are significant.

Table 1.A.

Official Status of Teachers, by Sex: Academic Year 1974/75

	Male (n=52)	Female (n=44)	Total (n=96)
Very Senior*	6	3	9
Senior**	13	8	21
Fairly Senior$	6	9	15
No Special Status‡	27	24	51

(X^2 (corrected) = 1.128.3 d.f. not significant)

Table 1.B.

Official Status of Teachers, by Sex: Academic Year 1972/3

	Male (n=49)	Female (n=44)	Total (n=93)
Very Senior*	6	4	10
Senior**	14	7	21
Fairly Senior$	4	8	12
No Special Status‡	25	25	50

(X^2 (corrected) = 3.80. 3 d.f. not significant)

Notes: * Head; deputy heads; senior teachers; teachers in charge of building; teachers with concurrent responsibility in both department and house.

** Head of department: head of house.

$ Deputy heads of department; deputy head of house.

‡ Assistant teacher.

Table 2.A.

Posts of responsibility open to competition irrespective of sex, by sex of occupant*: Academic Year 1974/5

	Male (n=16)	Female (n=14)	Total (n=30)
Head of department	12	5	17
Deputy head of depart.	4	9	13

(X^2 (corrected) = 3.23. 1 d.f., not significant)

* These figures exclude Head of Department and Deputy Head of Department for Girls' P.E. and Boys' P.E. (4 posts) since these are not open to both sexes.

Table 2.B.

Posts of responsibility open to competition irrespective of sex, by sex of occupant*: Academic Year 1972/3

	Male (n=15)	Female (n=13)	Total (n=28)
Head of department	12	4	16
Deputy head of depart.	3	9	12

(X^2 (corrected) = 5.03. 1 d.f. significant at .05)

* These figures exclude Head of Department and Deputy Head of Department for Girls' P.E. and Boys' P.E. (4 posts) since these are not open to both sexes.

These data tend to confirm the conclusions drawn about the relative prestige of female and male teachers which were based on an analysis of full information for the year during which fieldwork was undertaken at Torville School. It can be concluded with some confidence that at least during the period when Band U students were pupils at Torville School, substantial differences between the sexes in terms of official status existed. The inference that these pupils were presented with a pretty clear cut statement about the relative power and prestige accruing to the male and the female is hard to avoid.

Status deriving from age of pupils taught

The physical organisation of the school into 2 junior sections and a geographically separate senior section had led to the adoption of a particular organisation of teaching responsibilities. Most teachers taught solely in either the junior or senior sections. Some, notably heads of departments, had responsibilities in both sections. Reference to Table 3 will confirm that in the school, as in many others, women were more likely to be solely confined to teaching the younger pupils and men the older pupils. Indeed while 2:3 men taught wholly or mainly in the senior section the same proportion of women taught

wholly or mainly in the junior sections.

Table 3

Age Group Taught by Sex of Teacher: Academic Year 1975/6

	Male (n=51)	Female (n=47)	Total (n=98)
Teach only 11+ to 13+	9	26	35
Teach both groups			
(i) mainly 11+ to 13	8	5	13
(ii) mainly 14+	10	0	10
Teach only 14+	24	16	40

(X^2_2 (corrected) = 18.21, 3 d.f. Significant at .01)
(X^2 = 17.06, 2 d.f. Significant at .01: collapsing categories (i) and (ii) of 'Teach both groups')

Table 3.A.

Age Group Taught, by Sex of Teacher: Academic Year 1974/5

	Male (n=52)	Female (n=44)	Total (n=96)
Teach only 11+ to 13	10	22	32
Teach both groups:			
(i) mainly 11+ to 13	7	5	12
(ii) mainly 14+	10	4	14
Teach only 14+	25	13	38

(X^2_2 (corrected) = 8.55, 3 d.f. significant at .05)
(X^2 (corrected) = 8.89, 2 d.f. significant at .05: collapsing categories (i) + (ii) of 'Teach both group')

Put another way, there were twice as many men as women teaching the senior pupils. The situation was almost exactly the same during the previous academic year, as Table 3.A. demonstrates. While it is probable that age of pupils taught is one of the bases for the informal status hierarchy among teachers its significance to the present argument is somewhat different.

During their interviews and informal discussions with me, many students talked about the qualitative change in themselves and in the school experience consequent on moving to the senior part of the school. One pupil observed;

'... when I was at (Torville Lower) I was very noisy, running around in plimsolls, answering back teachers, shouting, making trouble, but I think I've quietened down a lot more now I'm at (Torville Upper) I think I am a bit more different, because I think the same thing has happened to me and V. (a friend) really, because with recent boyfriends, they've said you're different, you're quieter, you tend to be more ... 'you know V. has found the same things. I feel different myself anyway'.

This girl (who was born in Britain of West Indian parents and came from a manual working class home) did not claim that Torville Upper 'reformed' her but only changed her and indeed she was still considered by her teachers to be a Bad Pupil (for definition see Chapter 6). Whether one regards this as a reflection of actual changes attributable to the natural maturational process or to something in the 'climate' of Torville Upper or of a collective ideology it is clear that the transfer to the senior part of the school was seen as a kind of rite de passage when 'childish things' were (ought to be) put away. Since women, more than men, were associated with the earlier period of their lives in school and men, more than women, were associated with their new maturity there is a very material sense in which senior students could come to view women as part of the childish past and having little relevance to or status in their more mature concerns. This is underlined in the next section of this chapter where it is shown that a sizeable proportion of the fifth year students under study encountered women teachers only rarely - and those mostly in 'female' subjects.

Ubiquity of Male Teachers in the School Life of Band U Students

In all areas of the curriculum there were 27 male and 13 female teachers who came into regular teaching contact with students in Band U. Their teaching responsibilities are set out in Table 4. This clearly shows that overall, students were 3 times more likely to encounter

a male teacher, even though male teachers outnumbered women by a factor of 2:1.[6] More male teachers than female who had teaching responsibilities for Band U students taught more than one set.

Table 4.

Teaching Responsibilities of Male and Female Teachers*

	no. sets taught on own	no. sets taught jointly
Male teachers (n=26)	36	3
Female teachers (n=11)	12	3
TOTALS	48	(3)
	51	

* 1 male and 1 female teacher of P.E./Games are excluded because students were not 'setted' for these activities. One form-teacher (female) is excluded since she did no fifth form teaching.

In actuality the picture was considerably more complex than these figures suggest. Depending on their sex and choice of subject specialisms students' experiences ranged from the 12 girls who had only 3 male teachers (out of 9) and who spent almost three quarters of their time in classes taught by women to the 9 boys who had just 1 period per week (ex 40) taught by a woman. Table 5 gives some indication of the differences in experience faced by male and female students. Eight in ten boys spent at least three quarters of their time in male taught classes, which is not perhaps surprising given the preponderance of male teachers and male taught sets. The girls' experiences were more varied, with a surprisingly large number (17,33%) managing to have most of their lessons taught by women despite the preponderance of males and male-taught sets.

Table 5

Contact with Male Teachers, by Sex of Pupils (expressed in percentages)

	Number of teaching periods				
	0-9	10*-14	20-29*	30-38	Total
Boys (n=88)	0 (0)	0 (0)	19(17)	81(71)	100(88)
Girls (n=51)	0 (0)	33(17)	47(24)	20910)	100(51)
TOTAL (n=139)	0 (0)	12(17)	30(41)	58(81)	100(139)

(X^2 = 49.59, 2 d.f. Significant at .01 level)

* The 2 quarter points - 10 and 29 - have been included in the 2 middle quartiles since it makes no sense to talk about half periods.

It can be concluded that since over three quarters of all students had at least two thirds of their lessons taught by men that males predominated in the school lives of most students in this study. This was particularly true of students (of both sexes) specialising in sciences. The only group of students, (17, all girls) whose life in school was mainly spent in female-taught classes were those specialising in languages.

Male and Female Disciplines at Torville School

It has so far been demonstrated that the location of teachers at Torville School was sex-differentiated; males held a disproportionate number of senior posts in the school hierarchy; a disproportionate number of women taught only 'the little ones' as one student rather dismissively referred to first, second and third years pupils. It is, of course, possible, that students attached no significance to these trends, being completely unaware of status differentials and attaching no meaning to the fact that once they reached Torville Upper it was staffed predominantly by men.

Assuming that students did notice the trends it is suggested that they would be most likely to interpret differences in the status of teachers in terms of those characteristics of teachers which were most available and obvious to them i.e. the sex-class of a teacher.

If the contention that teachers themselves form part of pupils' unofficial education had to stand on these two trends alone it might be thought the evidence is less than conclusive. However there was another dimension to the location of teachers which underlined the sex-differentiation in Torville School, and which directly affected students in the sense of what kind of teacher - male or female - would be teaching them. In short, many of the subjects taught were sex-typed.

It is hardly new to suggest that certain school subjects are thought of as predominantly male or female subjects (D.E.S. 1975). Where this study differs from others is the way in which this categorisation is reached. Previous research has relied on eliciting an 'image' of particular school or university subjects usually by means of a variant of the Osgood et al (1957) Semantic Differential. Using this method respondents are asked to rate certain academic disciplines using a number of provided bipolar dimensions e.g. soft - hard. Among the list of adjectives provided would be masculine - feminine. Respondents are not usually given the chance to reject adjectives as inapplicable. Thus this method has some inherent limitations - it does not allow for the possibility that some subjects may not be seen as sex-typed and it probably overestimates the degree to which all subjects are sex-typed. Its major limitation, though, is that it gives no hint as to why people have these perceptions. Work in this tradition has been done in Britain using university students (Weinreich 1977) and sixth form pupils (Fuller 1968) though the latter is somewhat dated.

In the present study the 'sex' of school subjects is established in two quite separate ways. The first establishes the 'sex' of a particular subject on the basis of the proportion of male and female teachers who taught it, and it is thus another facet of the present discussion of the part teachers play in the unwitting presentation of a sex-differentiated curriculum. No prior assumptions were made about which subjects were typed for which sex, nor about what proportion of subjects was so typed. If one attempts to establish that teachers <u>are</u> part of the hidden curriculum it is necessary to ground one's analysis in the situation which confronts actual pupils in a specific school, since it could be hypothesised that pupils will be more affected by concrete examples of sex-typing in settings familiar to them than abstract notions without a context.

The second definition establishes the 'sex' of school subjects in terms of the proportion of male and female pupils who studied it. Again this is grounded in the actual situation obtaining at Torville School during the period of field-work. Information on this aspect of the sex-typing of school subjects is reported in chapter 9.

Returning to the subjects taught by men and women, it is obvious that teachers leave and are replaced by others, so the sex-class proportion of teachers in any one subject may change over time, depending on the availability of candidates and reflecting more or less temporary fluctuations.

Analysis based on one year in the life of a school could thus give a false impression. Ideally analysis would be based on all five years during which Band U students attended Torville School in order to establish which subjects during their school life were consistently

sex-typed; unfortunately data is available only for the year of fieldwork and the one immediately preceding that i.e. when Band U students were in the fourth year at Torville.

Table 6

Sex Typing of Subjects Offered to Band U Students During Their 5th Year

	Academic Year 75/76		Academic Year 74/75	
Female Subjects (n=3)				
	teachers(n)*	% female	teachers(n)*	% female
Housecraft	4	100	4	100
Needlecraft	1	100	4	100
Art	4	75	4	75
Male Subjects (n=11)				
	teachers(n)*	% male	teachers (n)*	% male
Technical subjects	4	100	4	100
Drama	2	100	2	100
Careers	1	100	2	100
Photography	1	100	1	100
Physics	5	100	4	75
German	3	100	4	75
Chemistry	5	80	4	75
Mathematics	12	75	14	60
French	10	70	8	63
Geography	6	67	7	71
History	10	60	10	70
Subjects which are Not Sex-Typed (n=6)				
	female(n)*	male(n)*	female(n)*	male(n)*
Russian	1	1	1	1
General Science	4	4	2	3
Social Studies	3	3	2	5
Biology	4	2	3	3
R.E.	3	1	2	2
English	8	7	5	6

* NOTE: Some teachers taught more than one subject, thus totals do not correspond to the total number of teachers at the school in each academic year.

Table 6 summarises the trends for those two years in the subjects that were offered to Band U students in their fifth year (that is, the year in which the study took place) and Table 7 sets out information on all the other subjects taught at Torville but not offered to Band U students in their fifth year.[7] Table 8 gives information about subjects taught during 1974/75 but no longer offered in the year during which the research was carried out.

Table 7.

Sex Typing of Other Subjects Taught at Torville School, But Not Offered to Band U Students in Their 5th Year

	Academic Year 75/76		Academic Year 74/75	
	Female Subjects (n=3)			
	teachers(n)	% female	teachers(n)	% female
Commerce	3	100	3	100
Calligraphy	2	100	2	100
Music	3	100	3	67
	Male Subjects (n=2)			
	teachers(n)	% male	teachers(n)	% male
Integrated Studies	3	100	3	100
Geology	1	100	1	100
	Subjects which are not Sex-Typed (n=1)			
	female(n)	male(n)	female(n)	male(n)
Sociology	1	1	1	1

Table 8.

Sex Typing of Subjects Taught 74/75 But Not Taught 75/76

	Sex	female(n)	male(n)
Latin	Female	1	0
Applied Science	Male	0	3
Economics	Male	0	2
British Constitution	Male	0	1
Economic History	Not Sex Typed	1	1

Throughout the school there were 4 subjects unequivocally female in the sense that no male taught them - Housecraft, Needlework, Commerce and Calligraphy; and a further 2 which were predominantly female - Art and Music. Of these, three were offered to Band U students.

There was a greater number of male subjects throughout the school; 6 unquestionably male - Integrated Studies, Geology, Technical Subjects, Drama, Careers and Photography of which the latter four were offered to Band U students. There were a further 5 subjects, all on offer to Band U students, which were predominantly male and where the trend for them was to become more male in the academic year 1975/6 - Physics, German, Chemistry, Maths, French. The case of history and geography was somewhat ambiguous - in both years a greater proportion of the teachers was male, but the trend was towards a decrease in the sex-typing and these should perhaps be regarded as male only in the light of the trend throughout the school in both years for subjects to be sex-typed.

There were two subjects which were clearly not sex-typed - Sociology and Russian - of which only the latter could be taken by students in this study. General Science and Social Science (both available to Band U students) while not sex-typed in 1975/76 had been marginally male the year before, while Biology and R.E. had been taught by men and women equally in 1974/75 but had become marginally female in the following year.

In summary, of the twenty subjects available to students in the study 6 (30%) were unquestionably sex-typed, one clearly not the domain of either sex and the remaining 13(50%) were sex-typed to a greater or lesser extent. Taking subjects offered throughout the school the following conclusions can be drawn.

In 1974/75 of the 31 subjects taught 14 (45%) were clearly sex-typed and 5 (16%) were taught by equal numbers of men and women, while the remainder were sex-typed to a degree. In 1975/76 of the 26 subjects taught 13 (50%) were unambiguously sex-typed and 4 (15%) were clearly not. The remaining 9 were sex-typed to a degree[8].

Taking only the 26 subjects available in both years there were 10 (38%) clearly sex-typed in both those years - Housecraft, Needlework, Commerce, and Calligraphy (Female subjects); and Technical Subjects, Drama, Careers, Photography, Integrated Studies and Geology (Male Subjects). In addition Sociology and Russian could be legitimately called not sex-typed. The subjects whose classification was consistent over the 2 years should perhaps be the only ones interpreted as sex-typed or not sex-typed while the remaining subjects perhaps merely reflect fluctuations due to teacher turnover. There are no great surprises in this classification expect that a priori classification might have put all languages into the 'female' category[9].

Demonstrating that certain subjects were the exclusive or near-exclusive domain of either male or female teachers does not, of itself, establish that school subjects were gender-typed. It could happen that the staff was highly sex-structured in the subjects it taught without this having implications for pupils' choice of subjects. Nevertheless it does suggest that school subjects at Torville could be characterised as 'male', 'female' or 'non sex-specific' on the basis of the sex of the teachers who taught those subjects. To show that this was part of the hidden curriculum and that 'male', 'female', and 'non-sex specific' subjects were understood/interpreted by pupils as being appropriate for boys, girls or both sexes respectively, then it must be demonstrated that significantly more boys than girls took 'male'

subjects, more girls than boys took 'female' subjects and that the sexes were equally likely to take subjects designated as not sex-specific.

In addition to games, pupils in Band U each took 9 subjects of which 4 were required as the common core of subjects taken by all fifth year students. Thus there were 5 subjects from a pool of 16 in which pupils in Band U could exercise any choice. The common core subjects were Maths and Careers (Male Subjects), and R.E. and English (not sex-typed). Table 9 sets out information for the 5 subjects in which pupils in the study had any choice. All 5 subjects were open to both male and female students.

Table 9.

Number of Male, Female, and Not Sex Typed Subjects
(As Defined by Sex of Those Teaching the Subject)
Chosen by Boys and Girls*

Male Subjects

	5	4	3	2
Boys (n=79)	20	40	18	1
Girls (n=46)	0	22	19	5
Total (n=125)	20	62	37	6

(X^2(corrected) = 16.66, 3 d.f., Significant at .01)

Female Subjects

	1	0
Boys (n=79)	6	73
Girls (n=46)	26	20
Total (n=125)	32	93

(X^2(corrected) = 34.015, 1 d.f., Significant at .01)

Subjects Which Are Not Sex-Typed

	2	1	0
Boys (n=79)	15	43	21
Girls (n=46)	9	29	8
Total (n=125)	24	72	29

(X^2(corrected) = .939, 2 d.f., not significant)

*NOTE: 'Other' students are excluded from these calculations.

Table 9 de monstrates a number of significant trends; firstly boys took a larger number of male subjects than girls (For reasons which are discussed later the minimum number of 'male' subjects any student could choose was 2). Indeed a quarter of boys took only male subjects. Students could avoid taking any 'female' subjects: 92% of boys took no 'female' subjects while over half the girls chose to study one 'female' subject - the maximum that could be chosen.

As reference to Section C of Table 9 demonstrates there were no significant differences in the number of non sex-typed subjects studied by boys and girls: girls were no more likely than boys to avoid such subjects, while among those choosing to study such subjects there was no differences in the proportion of girls and boys studying one or choosing two. Thus subjects taught by (roughly) equal numbers of male and female staff were as likely to be chosen by male as female pupils.

Students were faced with a curriculum in which a number of subjects were sex-typed. The greater number of 'male' subjects meant it was possible for pupils of either sex to choose an all-male curriculum. A quarter of the boys did so choose, but not one girl. It was not possible to choose either an all-female or completely non sex-typed curriculum, so three quarters of the boys and all girls followed a mixed curriculum. Among this group there was a strong tendency for boys to avoid the female subject available and a somewhat less pronounced tendency for the girls to choose it. This can be interpreted as an attempt on the part of most students, but particularly of boys, to maximise the number of subjects which were congruent with their sex

and is strong inferential support for the hypothesis that the maleness or femaleness of subjects presented to students in terms of who taught what was being interpreted as a symbolic statement that 'male' subjects were more appropriate for boys (and were therefore 'masculine') and 'female' subjects more appropriate for girls (and thus were 'feminine').

The fact that the subjects which in school would be seen as either masculine or feminine, would almost all also be seen in this light outside underlines the school's role in this respect in reinforcing society-wide perceptions of appropriate or inappropriate activities for the sexes. It would be fair to suggest that the 'feminine' subjects in this school can be characterised as primarily domestic, artistic and not technologically-based: whereas the 'masculine' subjects can be characterised as science- or technology-based and activity and employment oriented. Analysis of the 'gender' of subjects defined independently in terms of the proportion of male and female pupils who chose to take them (see chapter 9) bears out this characterisation.

Ethnic minority teachers

Analysis of the position of ethnic minority teachers has of necessity to be less detailed than was the case for male and female teachers. In the first instance it was not possible to obtain accurate information on all those who taught in Torville Lower and hence the discussion relates only to those teachers who were in regular contact with Band U students.[10]

Secondly, the number of non-British teachers was very small. Of the forty teachers who taught Band U students 7 (17.5%) were not white British, of whom 5 (12.5%) were black. Thus there was a smaller proportion of ethnic minority teachers than students.

Five of these teachers were men, 4 Asian and one American, of whom the latter and one of the Asians were heads of department, while the other three were assistant teachers. One of the women was born in the West Indies of Asian parentage (assistant teacher) and the other was of Russian birth (deputy head of department). Both women taught only senior pupils and between them taught three sets singly as well as being mainly responsible for one other set in Band U. The three Asian males who were assistant teachers taught only senior pupils while the two heads of department, like their other head of department colleagues, taught in both Torville Upper and Lower. Between them the five male teachers were responsible for teaching ten sets singly and one jointly with a white British colleague.

Conclusions can hardly be drawn from so small a number, but it does seem that ethnic minority teachers were located in the school similarly to their other colleagues in terms of status and other aspects. It is worth noting that all the men taught 'male' subjects - careers, chemistry, maths, physics - while the women taught English and modern languages, Students in Band U had more contact with ethnic minority males than females, which was also the case with regard to white British teachers. Thus the ethnic minority teachers appear to fall into much the same pattern for their sex as their white British colleagues.

Despite this the single most striking fact is that for Band U students Torville school was predominantly staffed by teachers from the ethnic majority group.[11] On the other hand students could see Asians among the teaching staff, some with high official status and all teaching subjects central to the curriculum (see Concluding

Remarks). It may be that this was particularly important to Asian students, but its effect on white British and other students should not be underestimated. The only West Indian teacher for Band U students was female and of Asian parentage and this may have made any connection between her and Afro-Caribbean students, particularly boys, less than obvious. While all Asian and many white British and West Indian students came into direct contact with at least one (and sometimes two) Asian teacher, only a minority of students was taught by the West Indian teacher.

It was suggested earlier in the chapter that students might reasonably be led to the belief that school was a 'white' institution and that this would have repercussions for them in the sense that they might, depending on their ethnicity, feel more or less 'at home' there. On the other hand it may be that precisely because there were so few ethnic minority teachers that pupils did not draw any conclusions about them as members of an ethnic minority group as such. This seems somewhat unlikely, though, given that pupils at Torville did not look upon all teachers as interchangeable irrespective of sex, age or subject taught. As far as a hidden curriculum concerning ethnicity existed the most obvious statement which it contained was that Torville was a predominantly white school, with some place for Asians, but apparently very little for West Indians. Insofar as the picture presented to Band U students in their fifth year was a reproduction of earlier pictures of the place for ethnic minorities, particularly during their time at Torville Lower, it could be an important lesson for all students, even if its effects in terms of pupils' school achievement, behaviour, and self-concept cannot be unequivocally charted. It may not be too fanciful to suggest that some students might interpret the numerical

supremacy of white teachers and the virtual absence of West Indian teachers as some kind of comment on the superiority of white people and/or the inferiority of black.

Concluding Remarks

Students in Torville School were faced with a picture of relatively separate spheres for men and women. Despite fluctuations in staff and changes over time in the subjects taught at the school there appeared to be a trend for a core of school subjects to be sex-typed in terms of subjects being taught exclusively or predominantly by one sex. Details of which subjects could be seen as male or female were set out earlier and the inescapable conclusion reached that subjects typed for females were domestic and that those typed for males were technologically-or science-based and with a much clearer relevance to the world of paid employment.

This separateness of the sexes was overlaid with different evaluations of men and women. The location and status of male teachers rendered them structurally more important than their female colleagues in two quite distinct ways. Firstly, men at Torville had higher official status than women; and secondly significantly more men taught those aspects of the curriculum associated with public examinations and the gaining of publicly recognised paper qualifications. In terms of the position of teachers at Torville School separate was by no means equal.

The greater importance of male teachers was also reflected in the organisational importance of the subjects men taught. 'Male' subjects were more central to the school curriculum. In Band U two of the core subjects (i.e. those considered sufficiently important

that all students had to study them) were sex-typed - and male. The six subjects from which students had to choose two in which to specialise were all taught exclusively or predominantly by men. Only in those subjects in which there was relatively free choice for pupils were there any female subjects. It would seem that free choice was allowed only in those subjects which were considered marginal or inessential and that subjects considered essential were completely or almost completely prescribed. This suggests that the relative unimportance of women at Torville School is underlined by the relative marginality or 'inessential' nature of the subjects which were taught exclusively or predominantly by them.

This raises fascinating questions for a future study of teachers' perceptions of each other and pupils' perceptions of their teachers. For example, if higher organisational status is connected with a higher evaluation of the subjects taught by those holding positions in the school hierarchy, as has been argued here, does this have implications for the minority of teachers who teach subjects 'inappropriate' for their sex? Does the female in these circumstances thereby acquire higher status and is the male attributed with lower status for teaching 'female' subjects. To what extent are teachers who thus act 'out of role' seen by pupils and colleagues as deviant or peculiar. Evidence in a later chapter suggests that teachers who behave contrary to pupils' expectations may be given a harder time than those whose behaviour is within the bounds of what pupils expect.

These are questions which arise from the present study and were not envisaged as part of the original research design. Consequently there is insufficient information to comment on them, but they are raised in the belief that they might be usefully studied as part of

the current interest in teacher-pupil interactions.

If the divisions so far described at Torville School were not totally co-terminous with sexual divisions in all other areas of life they were sufficiently similar to be unremarkable to either pupils or staff. Whatever the explicit policy of the school and whatever personal qualities and particular values men and women may have brought to the classroom to counteract sexual stereotypes were in large part nullified by the very real and obvious differences in location and status of males and females throughout the school and in the school subjects they taught. In relation to the national picture[13] there is some evidence that Torville may have a better than average record in the proportion of women employed and in the proportion of female staff holding posts of seniority. Even so the official organisation of Torville School reproduced, in the staff and in the curriculum, material and evaluative differences between men and women similar to those visible in other spheres of society. In this way those divisions elsewhere were given de facto legitimation.

The extent to which similar divisions may be discerned among pupils is explored in later chapters. As a precursor, and in order to understand in what ways sex-class and gender (in comparison with social class and ethnic background) are dimensions relevant to teachers' activity and thinking at school, the next two chapters turn to an examination of teachers' values. The role of teachers' values is first considered at a rather general and abstract level. The chapter following looks at teachers' values with respect to social class, ethnicity and sex-class referring particularly to data from Torville School.

1. I assume that informal status hierarchies are constructed by and for particular groups. While knowing about the 'pecking order' among teachers tells us something about teachers it does not necessarily predict their status in the eyes of the pupils. I would guess that students rank their teachers in terms of their official status in relation to some aspects of school life (e.g. discipline) but in terms of attributes like 'boring', 'makes you learn', 'can't teach', etc. when assessing them in the classroom.

2. This is a slightly higher proportion of women than the overall proportion for comprehensive schools in England and Wales during that year. The DES in their Statistics of Education for 1975 (DES 1977) give the following figures:

Sex of full-time teachers in Secondary Schools (at 31 March 1975)

	Comprehensive	Other Secondary	All Secondary	(Torville)
Male	58%	54%	57%	53%
Female	42%	46%	43%	47%
N	136,065	78,309	214,374	94

(Source: Volume 4, Table 26 (ii); adapted)

3. As I did not obtain full information for all teachers at Torville concerning their point on the Burnham scale, my figures are not directly comparable with those issued by the DES on the grading of full-time teachers in comprehensives in England and Wales. However, the figures, abstracted from Table 26 (ii) of volume 4 (DES 1977) are as follows:

Grade of full-time teachers in Comprehensive schools, England and Wales (at 31 March 1975)

	Male	Female	N
Head	2292	366	2658
Deputy head	2758	1287	4045
2nd master/misstress	637	1204	1841
Senior teacher	2594	469	3063
Scale 4	12832	3100	15932
Scale 3	17822	7999	25821
Scale 2	24344	21327	45671
Scale 1	16024	21010	37034
TOTAL	79303	56762	136065

8.5% of teachers in comprehensive schools had very senior positions (combining Heads, Deputy Heads, Second and Senior Teachers) while by our slightly wider definition 10.7% of teachers at Torville were categorised as very senior. Nationally, 60.8% of teachers held scale 1 or 2 posts compared with approximately 53% at Torville categorised as having no special status. These differences reflect the fact that Torville had a lower proportion of relatively inexperienced teachers (probationers or those with only a few years in teaching) and a higher proportion of those with long service in the profession. It is instructive to note that 51% of the men, but 75% of the women who taught full-time in comprehensive schools had scale 1 or 2 posts nationally, whereas at Torville the figures were 50% and 57% respectively. Insofar as scale 1 or 2 posts are held by the relatively inexperienced teacher it would seem that Torville had a higher proportion of experienced female teachers than was available nationally in comprehensive schools. This can be further illustrated by the fact that 10.4% of all male and 5.9% of all female full-time teachers in English and Welsh comprehensives, while 12% of men and 9% of women who taught full-time at Torville were categorised as very senior. The national figures give no indication of sex ratios in individual schools but it seems reasonable to infer from them that the disparities in official status of male and female teachers in many mixed comprehensives would be greater than at Torville. On average there would be fewer women teachers and among those teachers who were female a greater proportion would have no special status and a lower proportion would have very senior status. Thus pupils at these schools would be encountering even more obvious sexual divisions in status than was the case at Torville.

4. Part-time teachers are not usually given posts of responsibility. Absolute accuracy would require such teachers to be excluded from these calculations. In this case the position would be as follows:

	Male	Female	Total
Having high status	26 (52%)	22 (50%)	48
Having no special status	24 (48%)	22 (50%)	46
TOTAL	50	44	94

Since students encounter actual teachers, not 'teaching posts' it seems reasonable to include all teachers in the argument.

5. This analysis is based on lists of teachers which are prepared and handed out to each teacher at the beginning of the Autumn term each year. They are prepared with teachers' use in mind, not that of the researcher. Consequently at the end of their useful life they are discarded. No central file of such documents which may be of considerable use to a researcher existed at Torville.

The list of teachers for 1974/5 contains details for each teacher of subjects and age of pupils taught and was given to me during the pilotting of the study. The list for 1972/3 was found by one of the teachers in his own files and contains less information. In 1972/3 students in the present study were in their second year at Torville. I am grateful to the (necessarily) anonymous teacher who spent much time tracking down this information for me.

6. This and all subsequent tables relating to Torville school refer to the school year 1975-6.

7. Games and P.E. are left out of this analysis since by definition these were sex-typed in terms of teachers and pupils. This is an interesting example of where sex-typing in the secondary school is taken for granted.

8. This perhaps indicates that there is a trend towards greater sex-typing in subjects since a larger proportion was so typed in 1975/76 than in 1974/75.

9. The DES does not issue figures on the subject taught by teachers. The nearest approximation is the information concerning the subject which graduate teachers read at university. Information from Table 20 and 26 (ii) (DES, 1977) indicates that graduates are approximately 59% of the teaching force in all secondary school, with males outnumbering females by about 3 : 2; conversely non-graduates are about evenly divided between the sexes:

Graduate and non-graduate teachers in secondary schools (at 31 March 1975)

	Male	Female	Total	
Graduate	77,984 (62%)	48,260 (38%)	126,244 (100%)	(59%)
Non-graduate	43,279 (49%)	44,851 (51%)	88,130 (100%)	(41%)
Total	121,263 (57%)	93,111 (43%)	214,374 (100%)	(100%)

Some non-graduates will be teaching subjects in which it is impossible or rare to obtain a degree e.g. cookery, needlework, woodwork, games. Assuming that the remaining non-graduates are spread throughout the teaching of subjects which are taught by graduates the following table probably over-estimates slightly the degree to which subjects are sex-typed in terms of the sex of those who teach them:

Degree subject of graduate teachers in secondary schools (at March 1975)

	Male	Female	Total
Physics	5,672 (82.5%)	1,205 (17.5%)	6,877
Economics	3,502 (81%)	831 (19%)	4,333
Chemistry	5,491 (79%)	1,497 (21%)	6,988
Other science	4,773 (80%)	1,217 (20%)	5,990

Mathematics	6,496 (69%)	2,912 (21%)	9,408
Geography	5,837 (66%)	2,964 (34%)	8,801
History	8,639 (63%)	5,066 (37%)	13,705
Classics	2,485 (63%)	1,433 (37%)	3,918
Other arts subject	5,070 (64%)	2,882 (36%)	7,952
Other social science	3,684 (60%)	2,442 (40%)	6,126
Music	811 (57%)	623 (43%)	1,434
Other modern language	4,259 (56%)	3,386 (44%)	7,645
Biology	3,367 (52%)	3,152 (48%)	6,519
French	4,981 (47%)	5,599 (53%)	10,580
English	7,311 (47%)	8,120 (53%)	15,431
(Education)	5,606 (53%)	4,931 (47%)	10,537

10. The problems referred to in the previous chapter, of inferring ethnicity from surnames - particularly of West Indians - is further compounded in the case of teachers. To my knowledge at least one married female teacher in Torville Lower who had an impeccably English surname turned out to be Asian (Anglo-Indian?). Rather than attempt an analysis of all staff where my data is incomplete I have limited myself to teachers of Band U students where my information is accurate.

11. No national statistics are available which differentiate between teachers in terms of their ethnic group membership and so it is impossible to conjecture how typical is the situation at Torville. From 1971 to 1975 I was involved with six Bristol secondary schools which had been selected for study on the basis that they had relatively large numbers of Asian and/or West Indian pupils. The schools varied in size, but in none of them were there proportionately or absolutely as many ethnic minority teachers as at Torville. Driver (1977) reports 3 out of 35 teachers being of Commonwealth coloured origin in the mixed secondary school in the West Midlands where he carried out his research in the early 70's.

12. The previous year students in Band U were taught R.E. by a West Indian male teacher. My observations of his lessons and relationship with pupils was limited to the brief pilot period. There did not appear to be any stronger an affinity (within or outside the classroom) between him and the West Indian pupils, nor any weaker an affinity between him and the white British or Asian students than there was the next year between pupils and their white British R.E. teachers.

13. Refer to notes 2 and 3.

Chapter 6

Teachers' Expectations, Teaching Values and Teachers' Perceptions of Pupils

Where teachers can be shown to be significant role models for students there is an obvious case for analysing teachers' values. It may be that in other schools or at other times, or with pupils of a different age teachers are seen by a proportion of students as relevant models for their own gender-roles. It is probably not surprising that at Torville very few students consciously modelled themselves on teachers, and that those who did looked towards a particular teacher rather than teachers-as-a-class. It is likely that this minority of students will be drawn from that group which, for whatever reason, has a predominantly favourable view of school. The majority of students looked elsewhere for their conscious heroines or heroes. The impression gained from discussions about teachers (whether initiated by me or merely comments overheard) was that the prevailing view was that, because of the peculiarity of their job choice, teachers were sui generis, in some way not part of the 'real' world of adults. Therefore, it is likely that whatever teachers' views in the realm of gender or sex-role behaviour might be articulated, they would go unrecognised or be dismissed by pupils. Thus, in this particular school one may conclude that teachers' overt values in this area had marginal impact on students' conceptualisations.

However, teachers' own values, their beliefs about appropriate male and female characteristics (i.e. behaviour, attitudes, capacities, future aspirations, etc.) in their pupils could reinforce or counteract students' ideas about these issues. If these were in opposition to the taken-for-granted assumptions of the students (or more likely of particular sections of the student body), they might have repercussions in the classroom. At the very least such differences between pupil and teacher might create friction and misunderstanding between them. On the part of students this

could be experienced as being 'got at', while for teachers it might mean that advice and disciplinary measures were misplaced, resented by pupils, and/or unproductive of the effect sought.

Apart from these possibilities there are other compelling reasons for the researcher to be interested in teachers' values and it is to these concerns that I now turn.

Teachers' Expectations

> 'Teaching must be seen as an intellectual, cognitive activity. What goes on in the head of the teacher is a critical antecedent of what he does' (Smith and Geoffrey, 1968, p.96).

Much concern has been shown that 'what goes on' in the teacher's head, particularly as this is expressed in teachers' positive or negative expectations about specific groups of pupils, has considerable consequences for pupils' achievement at school (Thomas, 1974; Wiseman, 1973). Even though some previous research existed which demonstrated that teachers behave differently towards some groups of pupils (Meyer and Thompson, 1956; Minuchin, 1964; Sears and Feldman, 1966; Spaulding, 1963), the seminal work in this area is that of Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968). Rosenthal and Jacobson demonstrated that when teachers were told that certain pupils were 'spurters' and others were not (though in reality there were no objective differences between the pupils), teachers paid more attention to the 'bright' ones, whose scholastic attainment rose significantly. From which the researchers concluded that teachers' expectations concerning pupils' ability affect the amount of attention they give to some pupils and simultaneously affect those pupils' attainments. Thus teachers' expectations of high or low achievement become a form of self-fulfilling prophecy. Some evidence for this in the British system can be found in Barker-Lunn (1970) and Pidgeon (1970).

The essence of the argument runs as follows. Teachers have values and

beliefs, some or all of which are taken into the classroom; they act on their beliefs and values as much in the classroom as elsewhere; their values and beliefs are expressed in terms of their attitudes to events (including classroom behaviour), and to people (including pupils at school). These values and beliefs may specifically concern their job as a teacher, as in their notions of the good/worthwhile pupil (see next section), or the good/successful teacher. Or they may be of wider applicability, for example, more generalised socio-political values. In so far as any of these values, beliefs and attitudes are manifest, or underpin their work as a teacher, they constitute the teaching values of that teacher. In any profession or occupation, self-selection and professional training ensure that colleagues hold some important values in common. These commonly-endorsed values may be seen as the professional identity of, in this case, teachers. It is often assumed that there is a monolithic identity in any one profession, but experience and observation suggest that several rather separate professional identities may co-exist, variously described as 'cosmopolitans' vs. 'locals' (Merton, 1957), child vs. academic-orientated teachers, and so on (Hannan, 1975; Richardson, 1973). In any case, teachers' values and beliefs about their pupils and themselves qua teachers may make certain kinds of pupil, and certain kinds of classroom interaction more satisfying than others. In other words, some values and beliefs will be inherently prejudicial to certain groups/types of pupil; some will be favourable to others; while yet others may not systematically favour or discriminate between specific groups of pupils. Teachers' attitudes to particular groups may serve to depress the academic achievement and personal development of some pupils, or conversely to increase the development and achievement of others. Evidence of this relationship between teacher expectations and pupils' achievement is somewhat contradictory and disputed (Thorndike, 1968; Snow, 1969), but is usefully covered in Brophy and Good (1974).

Teachers do not necessarily know their pupils at all well. This is most obviously the case when a teacher encounters a new class for the first few times, but is equally true of the many students who do not draw attention to themselves in the classroom by being noticeably keen or disruptive. In these circumstances, teachers will have recourse to external indicators, what Goffman (1971) terms the 'personal front', which they have been taught or have learned through experience can be used to make predictions about a student's ability, effort and behaviour. These aspects of the personal front, such as style of dress, manner and paralinguistic cues of various sorts, provide 'knowledge' about the pupil which structures the teacher's relationship to the pupil in such a way that it, too, may become self-confirmatory.

So far, the argument has been outlined at a somewhat general level, and its significance for the present research not spelt out. Researchers have been interested in demonstrating that teachers discriminate between pupils along three major social-category dimensions - social class, race or ethnicity and, more latterly, sex. At the secondary school level with which we are here concerned, teachers are held to have consistently higher expectations (i.e. discriminate in favour of) middle class, white and male pupils. Since, in Britain, such positive evaluation of things white, middle-class and male probably has widespread support, it is clear that <u>if</u> the school is imbued with these values, and, in particular, <u>if</u> teachers act upon them in their role as teachers, the latent ethos of the school is quite centrally sexist, ethnocentric and classist. School would then not only provide a very powerful institution in which students learn the proper place of certain groups - ethnic minorities, the working class and women - by means of the discriminatory teaching material and organisational practices which have already been mentioned in a previous chapter; but it would also be an institution which ensured that substantial proportions in

these groups actually do remain in their 'allotted place'.

With these arguments in mind (although without benefit of some of the research published subsequently to fieldwork for this study), it seemed important to analyse teachers' values as an integral part of the research. Evidence for and against the existence of such systematic (albeit unconscious and unofficial) structuring of pupils' sense of personal worth, achievements and, hence, opportunities, was essential. Without it, any discussion of students' self-concepts and their views of appropriate and inappropriate gender behaviour would be hopelessly a-contextual.

An attempt has been made in this section to sketch, at a rather general and abstract level, the processes by which teachers' values and consequent expectations are held to systematically structure their interaction with pupils, and to affect pupils' achievement and sense of self-worth.

Having thus established the reasons for interest in teachers' values, I shall turn in the next section to how those values were established in this study. The final section of this chapter sets out Torville teachers' values in some detail. An examination of the validity and ramifications of the general argument about teachers' values and pupils' achievement is undertaken in the following chapter, taking specific categories of pupil in turn - middle and working class; male and female; and ethnic minority and white British pupils.

How Teachers' Values and Expectations are Measured

Part way through the second term of fieldwork (i.e. in the Spring term) all students in the fifth year received a school report which documented their progress in the various school subjects. Included on the report form were sections in which comments about the student were written by the house teacher under the heading 'Social Effort'; by the form teacher under the heading 'General Assessment'; and by the form teacher or deputy head under

the heading 'Personal and Social Qualities'. In practice these headings were used as a relatively open-ended stimulus for writing about the pupil; nice distinctions between social 'effort' and social 'qualities' were not drawn, and it seems legitimate to regard any section as providing a general assessment of the pupil as perceived by the teacher making comment in that section. A couple of examples will illustrate this:-

<u>David (White British boy)</u>

Social Effort: A pleasant and co-operative young man.

General Assessment: David has worked well. He should continue to work hard. He is pleasant, co-operative and reliable.

Personal and Social Qualities: Quiet and polite. Co-operative.

<u>Nirmala (Asian girl)</u>

Social Effort: Quietly co-operative and reliable.

General Assessment: Nirmala has to improve her academic performance. She is responsible and pleasant.

Personal and Social Qualities: Pleasant, co-operative and conscientious.

A decision was made to base the analysis of teachers' values on school reports or, more accurately, on the three sections in those reports already described. The definition of a 'good' or 'bad' pupil, it will be argued, can be inferred from these values. Teachers' perceptions of certain groups of pupils in terms of these values and expectations (chapter following) are thus based in the present study on combining the comments of ten teachers who reported on Band U students in the three sections of the report. These were the five form teachers, four heads of house, and the deputy head, of whom three were women and seven men, which roughly reflects the proportion of male: female teachers who taught these students.

The decision to base analysis on school reports rather than on, say, classroom interaction perhaps requires some justification and the following observations are added in support of that decision.

Two things struck me forcibly about pupils' relationship to their teachers at Torville. Firstly there was a predominant attitude on the part of pupils that, in the classroom, teachers should be impersonal. This does not mean that they were expected to be unfriendly or off-hand, nor merely that they should show no favouritism, but rather that in the eyes of the pupils a teacher who engaged in self-disclosure (recounting personal events, past histories, etc.) made him- or herself thereby less of a teacher.

Delamont reports a similar perspective among girls attending 'St. Luke's', a high status school in Scotland:

> "Belinda complained to me of Miss Knox: 'She was dreadful ... she goes on about her own life and not about general history at all, and then she wonders why we fail exams'" (Delamont 1976b, p.97).

This issue is taken up in greater depth in a subsequent chapter (see 'Pupils' Expectations').

The second striking feature was that students moved easily between talking of 'teachers' and a particular teacher. Their level of analysis was somewhat different, depending on whether they were discussing teachers-as-a-class or a specific teacher. Their analysis was more gross, more 'stereotypical' in relation to the former, while it could be very sensitive to, and appreciative of the particularities of any individual member of staff. Much the same could be said of their interaction with staff. The students seemed to experience very little trouble in simultaneously holding what appear to be contradictory stances. This phenomenon has been discussed by many previous writers (Deutscher, 1965; Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975; La Piere, 1934; Wicker, 1969).

Concurrently with these observations, which were based on informal discussions between myself and students, overhearing their conversations, and watching classroom interactions, I noticed some similar processes among the teachers. There was a disparity between the way teachers might

express themselves concerning a pupil or pupils-as-a-class, and their actual classroom behaviour to those pupils. In some instances, their spoken expressions would have suggested a more antipathetic or hostile stance towards a pupil or a group of pupils than I could observe in the classroom. Additionally, it was obvious that the way teachers would talk about an individual student, when they were at ease among themselves, differed from what they would say at, for example, a staff meeting. There was a disparity between these comments and the normal run of comments made directly to a student, or about a student in the hearing of other pupils. Only in the house room, where erring pupils were sent to 'cool off', did the tone of comments made directly to a pupil approximate to the racy and sometimes scurrilous nature of teachers' remarks when talking among themselves about pupils. Certainly, with the exception of remarks made in face-to-face interaction with pupils, teachers' observations about an individual pupil were unguarded. Teachers themselves probably recognise this and moderate their phrasing of comments when these are to be committed to paper. Garfinkel (1974) suggests that something of this sort occurred in the psychiatric clinic in which he carried out research:

> 'Difficulties that are introduced either because the clinic members are reporting on their own activities or because the self-reporting activities are carried on with the use of prepared forms, may be extended and illuminated by considering that candor in reporting carries well known risks to careers and to the organization. Speaking euphemistically, between clinic persons and their clients, and between the clinic and its environing groups, the exchange of information is something less than a free market' (Garfinkel, 1974, p.118: emphasis added).

The following remarks were made on a school report about a white British boy by his form teacher:

> 'Colin has become much more mature in his attitude to school life. On the whole I am pleased with this report. Colin is beginning to use his potential, although a still greater effort is required in some subjects.'

The same teacher talking about this boy made the following comments over

the lunch-table to another teacher, expressing surprise that Colin was able to initiate an intelligent conversation, 'He's straight out of Clockwork Orange ... quite a little fascist, and he lounges in such a silly way'.

The categorisation of pupils into groups which teachers found meaningful were not usually based on sex or ethnic categories, but on behaviour of the pupils - terms such as 'the clowns' and 'the arse-greasers' had reasonably wide currency in the staffroom, and I only ever heard the former applied to a pupil to his or her face, never the latter. These terms are a kind of shorthand, specific to a profession or occupation, whose use in the company of 'outsiders' (e.g. pupils or their parents) would be regarded by the professionals as illegitimate - irrespective of any consideration of libel in this instance![1]

I cannot pretend that I made sense of this problem of disparity of expressions about teachers or pupils during the period of fieldwork. At that time my simple-minded assumptions went thus:- Teachers' values/attitudes will structure their behaviour towards, and assessment of pupils. Pupils' values/attitudes, in their turn, will structure their behaviour towards, and assessment of teachers. But already I had discovered that each set of actors held views of the other both ad hominem and as one-of-a-class. The problems were conceived at that time as being how to relate teachers' views of 'pupils' to their differently expressed view of a named pupil; and similarly for students in relation to staff. There was the further question of which set of values was the more 'real' - the particularistic or the stereotypic? This is a problem specifically mentioned by another writer:

> 'Thus two separate dimensions in the teacher's perspectives on pupils can be distinguished: the theoretical versus the practical, and the stereotypical versus the idiosyncratic. The two are not, in fact, contradictory, for the nature and quality of educational theory leads easily to stereotyping ('lower-class children are verbally deprived'), while the 'conventional wisdom' of the teaching profession leads to individualising ('all children are different')

> ... (The) characteristics of the teacher's everyday world in turn accentuate the importance of generating a shared perspective with some, or all, of one's colleagues, to mitigate the isolation. Given the unique nature of each classroom encounter, the need for shared perspectives for added strength and to develop 'fellow feeling' accentuates stereotyping' (Delamont, 1976b, p.54).

However, to understand the reasons teachers hold contradictory ideas about pupils does not dispose of the contradictions, except perhaps in the teacher's own head.

Despite my confusion, and with more doggedness than imagination, I stuck to the original plan of gathering information from whatever sources (classroom interactions, conversations overheard, school reports, discussions, etc.) seemed to yield information which had something to do with teachers' and pupils' values. Attempts after the event to reconstruct and make inferences about the meaning of the observations related above, led me to the following conclusions.

The purposes for which values are expressed, the audience to whom these expressions are thought to be addressed, and the conditions under which values are articulated, are important considerations in an understanding both of the values themselves and of the terms in which they are couched. To recognise the situation-specific nature of the articulation of values, is also to acknowledge that the expression of beliefs, values and attitudes is rule-bound, as was hinted above. Hargreaves (1977 b) has also recently pointed out the necessity of differentiating the different contexts in which teachers' typifications are grounded and argues that such typifications are not necessarily transcontextual.

The observer's role becomes one of clarifying the contextual variables. The aim of the present research is not to elucidate all such contexts in the school, but to choose one in which the professional values of teachers are most clearly expressed in terms of their expectations of pupils qua pupils. That context is the preparing of written reports on pupils.

There is a number of conventions in the writing of school reports.

There is probably a self-censoring mechanism, by which a teacher will attempt to be constructive if possible, and, if some negative comment is deemed necessary, that this will be expressed in as moderate a manner as possible. There is, in short, a bias to the positive and constructive formulation of comments. (This is confirmed in the present case, where the proportion of positive comments on the reports analysed was 78% of all comments.)

Many teachers at Torville were required to comment on a pupil in their capacities as subject teachers, and as form or house teachers. In any case, in a secondary school where the teacher encounters many teaching groups, s/he will be faced with a large number of report forms with a very limited period of time in which to complete them. These conditions do not create the ideal situation for judiciously weighing each comment for its originality, aptness, etc., but rather encourage resort to the least inappropriate word or phrase. In other words, the conditions under which school reports are prepared elicit a fairly limited range of vocabulary which, I would suggest, disclose some (if not all) of the more important taken-for-granted values about 'the pupil'. Content analysis of the reports of Band U students yields 26 value dimensions, of which 9 were used with any frequency (see next section).

The purpose of, and the audience for school reports are connected. In general, school reports may be viewed as providing parents with periodic 'objective' assessments of their child's progress at school (reports at Torville were invariably written immediately after pupils had sat internal school examinations). A secondary purpose, recognised by the teachers at the school, was to give the pupil reinforcement for good progress, or a short, sharp shock to make greater effort to progress. Perhaps the second purpose is the more important, for many pupils quoted their school reports when asked, during interviews, 'how would teachers at

this school describe you?'. Numerous teachers and some students commented to me on the change in classroom behaviour subsequent to school reports being written and read. Requests were frequently made at that time to confirm their perception that pupils were now working harder and more purposively than hitherto. Some change was discernible, although to what extent this was solely as a result of the school report, rather than caused by this combined with the impending approach of external examinations (C.S.E. and 'O' level), cannot be decided.

There is, though, a third audience and purpose for school reports. Teaching colleagues will read each others' comments, and it seems likely that contributions are written, in part, to demonstrate to these colleagues both the nature of their professional standards/philosophy and their success in achieving them[2]. During the short period when teachers at Torville were preparing reports on Band U students, it was noticeable that there was more widespread discussion about 'standards' and teaching philosophy than at other times. This involved teachers who rarely otherwise came into the staffroom - Mr. J. and Mr. H., who both taught technical subjects (woodwork, metalwork, technical drawing), only came to the staffroom to write reports and to contribute to the discussions in which pupils were compared with others. At this time, an individual pupil's reputation among different teachers was made clear, and differences among teachers in their educational, social, and political 'ideology' were also articulated. Mr. C, a history and sociology teacher, told me at this time to be alert for the 'hang 'em and flog 'em brigade' who, being in a minority, normally kept their views to themselves. This is not to suggest that discussions about teaching methods, philosophy of education, etc., only took place at this time, but rather that the predominant tone of such discussions was towards the radical left rather than the right of the political spectrum - as were the teachers whose normal discourse in the staffroom was concerned with

the wider context of schooling. For example, there were arguments at this time about whether those teachers who were said to believe that 'what's happening in Rhodesia is mirrored in Torville High Road', as Mr. D. succinctly put it, were synonymous with, or a sub-group of the 'hang 'em and flog 'em brigade'. But this group of teachers, or perhaps that group of values with which they were attributed, were also mentioned at a different period in the fieldwork, when the Head of English was attempting to have discussions about the possible introduction of West Indian Creole into the English syllabus.

In a recent paper which attempts to synthesise the large literature on pupil and teacher perceptions of each other, Hargreaves (1977b) groups studies according to their implicit or stated model of typification. Firstly, there are studies which argue or assume that teachers have an image of the 'ideal' pupil against which pupils are considered 'good' or 'bad'; this model he calls ideal-matching. A second group, which he terms the characteristics-model, assumes that:

> 'teachers and pupils typify one another in terms of a set of characteristics. Actual teachers and pupils are typified as a unique configuration of such characteristics, and these typifications are construed in the form of an identikit.' (Hargreaves 1977b, p.275)

He criticises the latter model, suggesting that it:

> ' ... most accurately represents typification at the relatively early stages of acquaintanceship and that it is seriously distortive of the nature of typification both in more intimate relationships and in contextual applications. The reason for this distortion in the model may lie in the methodological base of the data on which the model is built.'

The model

> ' ... usually rests upon data which are collected in a situation where teacher or pupil expresses his typifications of the other in which I shall call a <u>third party relation</u>. By this I mean that both test and interview require the respondent to typify the other outside the direct face-to-face relationship between teacher and pupil. The respondent typifies the other who is not present to a third party, the researcher.' (Hargreaves 1977b, p.280; original emphasis.)

Hargreaves recognises that such third party typifications are not restricted to research settings and that ' ... there are 'natural' third party situations in the lives of teachers and pupils' (p.281), such as gossip in the playground or staffroom. Thus he does not suggest that such perceptions do not exist, rather that they are only one species of many; on the other hand he does appear to be saying that such perceptions are relatively unimportant once pupil and teacher know each other well.

I would argue that, whatever the complexities of teachers' and pupils' perceptions and interaction, school reports are a normal and relatively frequent means by which teachers express their typifications 'in a third party relation'. Moreover such occasions are likely to be perceived as 'natural' in the sense that teachers expect and are expected to engage in such typifications as an integral part of their professional activities. With these considerations and the previous discussion in mind, I would contend that, given the context in which they are written, school reports provide a useful means of understanding teachers' values and consequent expectations of their pupils. They do <u>not</u> elucidate the particularities of an individual teacher's values, nor as the observational material cited earlier should have already underlined, do I assume that teachers' values expressed via school reports are coterminous with their classroom behaviour. Nevertheless ' ... typifications derived from third party talk ... do play some part in direct interaction' (Hargreaves 1977b, p.282) and unless this were the case it is difficult to see how otherwise teachers' expectations could be held to systematically structure their relationship to pupils so that some pupils are consistently devalued; a process which has already been described earlier in this chapter and which is one of the central concerns of those who have written about teacher expectancy.

In summary, it is suggested that, taken together, school reports are a reasonable demonstration of the <u>public ethos of the school</u>, as promulgated

by teachers: that is, one element of the moral climate of the school. And that, in a sense, one can 'read' school reports as a collective definition of the teachers' ideal pupil, against whose characteristics any particular pupil will be judged[3]. The suggestion that teachers' conception of the ideal pupil can be inferred from their written comments in reports does not mean that I believe teachers to have some kind of Platonic 'ideal'. On the contrary, by using the present method one obtains a situated ideal, a definition of the ideal pupil which is informed by teachers' abstract notions of a good pupil (themselves more or less derived from past experience) and simultaneously by their perceptions of the 'material' which they have to work with in the particular situation.

The section which follows is based on a simple content analysis of the categories adopted by teachers in the reports. Inferences as to what constitutes 'good' or 'bad' pupils will be grounded in the value dimensions uncovered by the analysis of school reports. In the following chapter the data are subjected to further analysis, in order to discover teachers' values with regard to particular groups of pupils so that the discussion of teachers' expectations of male and female pupils can be placed in a wider context of teacher expectancy.

Teaching Values

The shared values of teachers at Torville School will be described in the context of what is known from researches in other schools, which have employed means other than school reports to establish teachers' values.

In the school reports there were fourteen major values discernible (full details of the content analysis procedures and definitions of 'values' are given in Appendix V), which relate to pupils' scholastic progress and social behaviour. The limitations of content analysis[4] do not warrant attempting to interpret differences between similar categories of values,

although it is possible to group values into relatively separate dimensions, in order to paint a fairly gross picture of teachers' shared values.

Six major value dimensions may be seen. Firstly, there are comments which relate to pupils' perceived abilities and the use to which they are put, for example, 'determined to do well', 'undermotivated', 'makes the best use of his ability', 'has ability but must be prepared to use it', 'capable', etc. (items, n=200, 19% of items; coded in the Intelligence and Use of Abilities[5] categories).

Secondly, teachers refer to what they perceive as pupils' orientation to school work and, clearly, conscientiousness, hard work, seriousness of attitude or diligence are valued (these items, n=170, 16% are coded in the Attitude to Work, Consistency and Distractibility categories).

A third group of values concerns pupils' orientation to school in general. Here, matters such as truancy, punctuality, interest demonstrated by keenness to participate and to hold office are mentioned (see items, n=73, 7%, coded in Attendance, Liveliness and Leadership categories).

These three values form a cluster obviously relating to the academic component of being a pupil, and account for over 4 in 10 of teachers' comments. Related to these values is one which reflects teachers' perception of pupils' orientation to teachers. Comments such as 'disruptive', 'co-operative', 'helpful', 'willing', etc., are included in the categories making up this particular value (items, n=205, 19%; in the Co-operation and Manageability categories).

A further value concerns pupils' social/moral development. This suggests that reliability, honesty, trustworthiness, and a generally mature attitude on the part of pupils are valued by their teachers. Again, these comments are probably more concerned with pupils' relationship to teachers than to other pupils (Categories Maturity and Reliability involving 173, 16%, items).

Finally, the largest group of comments (251 items, 23% all comments)

are descriptive of pupils' general social demeanour/comportment. Teachers value pleasantness, sociability, self-confidence, and a generally cheerful attitude on the part of their pupils. They seem to dislike pupils who are very quiet or retiring (these comments are coded in the Pleasantness and Extraversion categories).

Teachers' values, as revealed in this analysis, are substantially in accord with what one would expect to have found. That teachers value ability but, more importantly, effort, in their students; that they think highly of the pupil whose interest in school and school work is demonstrated by liveliness and active participation; that pupils who are disruptive or overly passive (whatever their orientation to school in general) are not valued; and that dependibility of effort and performance is valued; all of these can be understood in terms of behaviours which enable teachers to engage in one of their major overt functions, viz. instruction. Similarly, the values concerning pupils' social behaviour and personality characteristics can be seen as likely to provide a reasonable environment in which to practise as a teacher. Courtesy, reliability, pleasantness of attitude, etc., may also be valued because teachers believe them to be predictive of achievement in their pupils.

These findings appear to echo the teachers' values which are described or assumed in other writing about the school (e.g. Parsons, 1959; Hargreaves, 1967; Keddie, 1971; Milner, 1975; Delamont, 1976b; among others). Teachers' values at Torville are reported here precisely for their lack of novelty. That the values described are not significantly different at Torville has important bearings on preceding and subsequent discussions. The earlier argument, that analysis of school reports is a legitimate and efficacious means of discovering shared teaching values, is reinforced. In addition, because teachers qua teachers at Torville subscribe to essentially the same values as their colleagues in other schools, any findings set out in the

following sections, which are based on this analysis of school reports, cannot be automatically dismissed as a function of the a-typicality of Torville or its teaching staff.

Mindful of the research on teachers' differential expectations of different categories of pupil (e.g. black and white; girls and boys) the concepts used by teachers on the school reports were searched for evidence that teachers would demonstrate their different expectations by using qualitatively different values with regard to those categories of pupil. In the event, such crude differences could not be demonstrated.

A cursory analysis of the major value dimensions described did not suggest that teachers were using a different set of values in their comments about the sexes, the social classes, or the ethnic groups. Overall, there is only one value dimension which has limited applicability - the only pupils described as distractible and lacking interest in school work were boys. All other values were applied generally, thus suggesting that in assessing a pupil teachers were using the same pool of values, whether the pupil was male or female; middle- or working-class; or black or white.

This is tentative support for the notion that teachers have an ethos of non-discrimination, or a sentiment which says that pupils should be seen and treated first and foremost as pupils; and that there is a sense in which sex-class, ethnic origin, and socio-economic class 'ought' to be irrelevant, 'ought' properly to be ignored, at the very least in those aspects of a teacher's role where s/he is relating to the pupil as a pupil - in particular in the classroom or in any activity (such as report-writing) which is grounded in the pupils' behaviour and achievement as a pupil (see also Wolpe, 1977).

However, even though teachers appeared to be using the same value dimensions in their assessment of all pupils, there was one striking

difference. Most values were clearly bi-polar in connotation; that is, the items coded in, for example, the 'maturity' value, were of two sorts - mature, has a mature attitude, etc., and immature, childish, needs a more mature attitude, etc., the former being unambiguously positive, and the latter clearly negative in connotation. Differences in teachers' use of some values emerged, so that a rather larger proportion of boys than girls was attributed with the negative aspect of the value; similarly, West Indian pupils seemed, on some value dimensions, to receive a disproportionate number of negative evaluations. This suggested that further analysis was warranted, to establish whether these differences amounted to systematic bias in favour of certain pupils or against others, sufficient to be labelled discriminatory in its popular sense.

Put another way, this will be an attempt to see to what extent the ideology of non-discrimination in educational theory is acted upon in the school. Other writers have drawn attention to the potential discrepancy among teachers between 'ought' and 'is', in utilising such notions as 'doctrine' and 'commitment' (Selznick, 1949), or 'educationist' and 'teacher' contexts (Keddie, 1971).

Teachers' Perceptions of Pupils: A Typology of Pupils

In order to understand why it was decided to examine these concerns by means of the notions of 'good' and 'bad' pupils, it may be worth recapping the argument so far.

Teachers' (teaching) values lead them to prize certain attitudes and behaviours in their pupils, and to dislike or devalue others. Pupils who embody the prized attitudes and behaviours will be seen as 'good pupils', while those who demonstrate disfavoured attitudes and behaviour will be seen as 'bad pupils'. Teachers expect greater things of 'good' than 'bad' pupils', and structure their behaviour accordingly, thus raising

or lowering pupils' achievement and sense of personal worth. Teachers' experience and values lead them to perceive, or expect to encounter, 'good pupil' characteristics in certain pupils, and 'bad pupil' characteristics in others, and thus to distinguish (discriminate, in its neutral sense) between pupil and pupil. If, in distinguishing between pupils in this way, teachers systematically perceive some category (or categories) of student to be deficient, or systematically favour one group over another, this may be seen as evidence of de facto discrimination, in its pejorative sense[6].

Keddie recognises the possibility of discovering teachers' values through analysing 'deviant' pupils:

> 'Teaching A stream seems to be relatively unproblematic to teachers: they take the activities in these classrooms for granted, they rarely make explicit the criteria which guide the preparation and presentation of teaching materials for these pupils, and what counts as knowledge is left implicit, and, apparently, consensual ... The assumption underlying my interpretation of data is that C stream pupils disrupt teachers' expectations and violate their norms of appropriate social, moral and intellectual pupil behaviour. In so far as C stream pupils' behaviour is explicitly seen by teachers as inappropriate or inadequate, it makes more visible or available what is held to be appropriate pupil behaviour because it provokes questions about the norms which govern teachers' expectations about appropriate pupil behaviour' (Keddie, 1971, p.134).

In writing school reports, teachers are called upon to write about all pupils, good or bad, and in so doing they make more explicit their underlying assumptions and expectations about the 'ideal pupil' (Becker, 1952). Analysing teachers' expectations through school reports can overcome the difficulty mentioned by Keddie of discovering what teachers assume or expect of unproblematic and good pupils. In the present case, teachers' direct statements are available, and descriptions of good pupil characteristics do not have to be inferred by contrast with bad pupil characteristics.

The idea is to develop a typology of students, using teachers' values, basing the definitions of a 'good' or a 'bad pupil' on teachers'

perceptions of pupils, as articulated in school reports. In other words, this is a typification of students from the teacher's point of view. Students will then be allocated to a 'type', and the resulting data analysed to see if there are any significant trends in relation to the sexes, the social classes, or to pupils from the different ethnic groups.

The typology is based on the connotative rather than the cognitive meaning of teachers' comments. That is, the specific verbal expression is ignored, but the tone of the comment (positive or negative) is used. I would suggest that this method overcomes the problem, mentioned by Hargreaves (1977b), of assuming similarity of meaning in comments whose cognitive content appears to be the same.

A Good student is defined as one who simultaneously received significantly more positive and significantly fewer negative comments than other pupils[7]. Altogether 45 (37%) of the students fall into this category. An example of a good student's report read as follows:

> 'Helpful and co-operative in House activities' (Head of House).
> 'A pleasant, mature young man who has worked well this term. By sustaining this effort he should do well in the summer examinations. A good report and pleasing progress.' (Form teacher)
> 'Pleasant, mature, hard-working and reliable.' (Deputy Head)
> Asian boy (Positive = 12 mentions, Negative = 0)

Altogether, 30 pupils (19 boys, 11 girls), which is 67% of this group, received only positive comments.

A Bad pupil is one whose school report contained both significantly fewer positive, and significantly more negative comments. Bad pupils were almost as numerous as the clearly good - 44 pupils (36% of all pupils). The following example is of a white British boy whose report contained no positive comments. Students of this sort, whose report had nothing positive to say, were in the minority, however.

> 'X requires to adopt a more serious approach to his studies' (Head of House).
> 'X is capable but lacks effort and interest. He must adopt a more mature attitude to both in class and life' (Form teacher).

'Irresponsible, disruptive and unco-operative' (Form Teacher).
(Positive mentions = 0, Negative = 8)

Conspicuous students are thus defined because they received a large number of comments, both positive and negative. In the case of both types of comment, they received above the median for the whole sample. That teachers wrote at length about them suggests that, for whatever reason, they were known to the staff. Conspicuous students were the smallest group (n=11, 9% of all students). The following example is of a West Indian girl:

'Y is pleasant, co-operative and willing' (Head of House).
'Y has a pleasing personality and she works very well, but she could make more effort in some subjects and she must appreciate how important it is to be punctual. She is a reliable member of the form' (Form Teacher).
'Pleasant, reliable and co-operative. Sometimes talkative' (Deputy Head).
(Positive mentions = 9, Negative (underlined) = 3)

It could happen that students in this group had a greater number of negative than positive mentions. In the event, however, all Conspicuous students had school reports which were predominantly positive, in the sense that the absolute number of positive, was greater than the number of negative comments. There is some evidence, comparing Conspicuous with other types of student, that a slightly greater proportion of the former was perceived as reliable, lively, and extroverted and, at the same time, difficult to manage, and inconsistent in effort. Teachers seemed to know these students well enough to make elaborated comments about them. It may also be that teachers thought such pupils were more likely than others to take notice of any comments made and were thus encouraged to write at length.

Unobtrusive students are so called because they received very few comments on their school reports, suggesting that teachers did not know enough about them to write in any extended way. This may be because the pupil was new to the school, as in the following case of an Asian boy,

who joined the school during the Autumn term immediately preceding the Spring Term in which the report was written.

> 'A.is pleasant and co-operative' (Head of House).
> 'An excellent report. A. has settled very well at school and has done really well. I hope he will do his best to maintain the standard he has set. He is a reliable member of the form' (Form Teacher).
> (Positive comments = 7, Negative = 0)

Both students who joined the school during the period of fieldwork come into this pupil category. Altogether there were 5 students whose report was entirely positive, but about whom teachers wrote rather little. The remaining 17 students had predominantly good reports in the sense that, among the few comments made, positive comments outnumber negative. The overall impression of the following British boy's report is positive, but it does rather suggest that he was not so striking that teachers could distinguish him from other reasonable, non-demanding, unexceptional students:

> 'Has developed a mature attitude to school life' (Head of House).
> 'B. is an intelligent member of the form. However, he <u>needs to make a more consistent effort</u> in some of his subjects' (Form Teacher).
> 'Quiet' (Form Teacher).
> (Positive comments = 3, Negative (underlined) = 1)

There are 22 (18%) of students who were Unobtrusive, by the definition adopted here. While such students received few mentions, there is some evidence that teachers mentioned them approximately as often as other students in relation to some values, while there were other values which were infrequently attributed to Unobtrusive students. Teachers made proportionately fewer remarks about Unobtrusive students' social demeanour (viz. in the Pleasant category); their social development (i.e. both Reliable and Mature categories); their orientation to school (Attendance, Liveliness and Leadership); or their use of ability (Use of Abilities category). In the other seven value dimensions, they were mentioned in rough proportion to their numbers in the student body. In summary, these

were in the main, students who failed to register as individuals, whose good or reasonable attainment did not make them outstanding, and whose general behaviour did not draw attention to them.

Using essentially the same values with regard to all pupils, teachers at Torville nevertheless perceived some students differently from others. These differences in perception have allowed a four-fold typology of students to be drawn up. Whatever the basis for these differences in assessment, i.e. whether they are created by teachers' preconceptions of some students, or are merely a response to differences in students' actual achievement[8], it is likely that teachers will have different expectations regarding the future performance of the 'good' and the 'bad' pupils. For this reason, and to try to throw some light on the question of causation, the following chapter will describe the literature on teachers' pre-conceptions and expectations about male and female, black and white, and working- and middle-class pupils. Information from the present research regarding students in these categories will be compared with findings from other research addressed to these areas.

A Typology of Pupils: Some Further Comments

However, before this is done, it may be useful to clarify certain features of the pupil typology. In the first instance it is essentially concrete and specific to Torville school. That is to say, pupil categories are defined in terms of a pool of teacher comments which had been made in relation to a specific group of students, in one school and at a particular point in their school career. Thus the terms good, conspicuous, unobtrusive and bad should be understood, not as absolutes, or Platonic ideals, but as concepts with a meaning only in relation to the whole group of students being surveyed. Thus a 'good pupil', for example, was one who was good in comparison with her/his peers only.

No attempt was made during fieldwork in the school to obtain teachers' definitions, in abstract, of a good or bad pupil. While such abstract concepts may partly underlie teachers' interactions with, and perceptions of actual pupils this is not the only dimension in their assessments. It is unlikely that teachers are so inflexible in their conceptualisations or so untouched by the particularities of the school where they work that they have recourse only to such abstract notions in their perception of pupils. A recent study in a primary school (Sharp et al, 1975) demonstrates - although it is not discussed in exactly these terms - that teachers whose abstract notion of a good pupil rendered their present students 'bad' nevertheless discriminated between such pupils along the dimension 'good for this type of pupil' or 'good for this type of school'. Thus an absolute and a relative conceptualisation may readily co-exist. School reports probably embody elements of both kinds of conceptualisation, as do teachers' interactions with and perceptions of concrete students.

Although the labels used for each of the four types of student are not those of the teachers (or of the students, for that matter), they bear a relationship to observations made during fieldwork and are thus not merely artifacts of the particular form of analysis used (i.e. a median split of positive and negative comments received on school reports).[9] At some time during the two terms of fieldwork I heard teachers discussing and comparing their perceptions of a majority of students in Band U (and of many others who were not part of the present study, of course). Systematic field-notes were kept of these discussions when they involved Band U students and subsequent analysis confirms that the typology based on school reports reflects some differences in the way certain pupils were talked about by staff. Two kinds of student were frequently discussed - the Bad and the Conspicuous - although the latter tended to be talked about by a few teachers at a time (typically it involved a discussion between

two teachers) whereas when the former were discussed it was common for several teachers to become involved in the analysis of the problems and difficulties encountered with the particular student under discussion at that time. It would be wrong to suggest that Good and Unobtrusive students were never spoken about, for there were a few Good students whose 'reputations' and pupil characteristics were almost as frequently invoked as some of the Bad pupils. It is interesting, though, that Good pupils were not universally seen as unproblematic (see below). Further, while the label 'Unobtrusive' would tend to suggest that such pupils were unlikely to be much talked about by teachers, there were a few exceptions - notably the two students new to the school in that academic year. Within a few weeks of their arrival at Torville, teachers were asking each other their opinion of the newcomers. Both seemed set to becoming 'Good' pupils in the eyes of their teachers.

Sharp and her colleagues, in their discussion of primary school teachers' perception of their pupils (as 'peculiar' or 'normal') have usefully developed Schutz's (1964) notion of a consociality/contemporary continuum in interaction:

> 'Schutz notes that in commonsense knowledge other human objects, present in the phenomenal world of the actor, may be placed on a continuum from consociates to contemporaries. Consociates are people whom the actor knows in their unique individuality, while contemporaries are more remote and appropriated in consciousness via typifications. In the we-relationship shared with consociates typicality of the other does not exist, while in the actor's perception of contemporaries it does ... Certain children appear in the teacher's perspective of them as closer to the contemporaneous than consociate end of the continuum. These latter arise as phenomena in the teacher's perspective not because they are remote in time and space but because the teacher's commonsense knowledge is no use to her in handling them, given her classroom management problem ... While the consociate is known in a relatively complex and personal but generally unreflective way, certain children emerge as contemporaries because it is impossible to communicate with them.' (Sharp et al., 1975, p.119-120).

The observational data which was used to elaborate the four-fold typology of pupils would suggest that both Good and Conspicuous students might be

properly conceived as falling towards the consociate end of the continuum, while Bad and Unobtrusive pupils are so categorised because teachers perceive them as less knowable. In the school in which they carried out their research Sharp et al suggest that such factors had clear implications for teacher-pupil interaction:

> 'The central aspect of the contemporary-consocial continuum lies in the level of communication links or intersubjectivity. The more remote the child is from the teacher's common sense, the less will intersubjectivity be a feature of their relationship and the less individuality a feature of the teacher's perception of the child. It was noticed that in each classroom in the deployment of time-space resources the teacher tended to spend less time interacting with the 'peculiar' children than with the 'normal' ones and, particularly much less time than with those (abnormal for this context) who were good pupils or approaching the conception of the teacher's personal conception of the ideal client.' (Sharp et al., 1975, p.121).

These writers are at pains to point out that while such processes can and do lead to self-fulfilling prophecies about pupils, teachers' perceptions of pupils are not just quixotic whims, but are grounded in the fact that:

> ' ... teachers are encapsulated within a context where the problems of management and control require some implicit hierarchical differentiation of pupils in order to solve the problem of order and provide some legitimation for the allocation of scarce resources, i.e. the teacher's time and energies.'(Sharp et al., 1975, p.127).

It would be extraordinary if exactly the same solutions were adopted in Torville as at Mapledene Lane (as they call the school where they carried out their research); differences of size, geographical location, age of pupils, curriculum, and the fact that 'progressive' theories and methods of education had penetrated the schools to varying degrees, make the schools very different environments, but it does seem probable that secondary school teachers face similar decisions as to allocation of their time, and as the earlier parts of this chapter have indicated it has been possible to discern ways in which they differentiated between their pupils.

A typology of students <u>as pupils</u> does not exhaustively cover the way they were perceived by their teachers. The categorisation relates to some

aspects of students' attitudes and behaviour and does not automatically overlap with characteristics grounded in other aspects of the students' total persona. It was quite clear, for example, that for some teachers 'good pupil' was not synonymous with good/worthwhile/admirable person - the existence of the teachers' notion of 'arse-greaser', applied to some Good and a few Conspicuous pupils, confirms that being seen in a totally or mainly favourable light as a pupil did not guarantee an all-encompassing positive evaluation as a person. In much the same way Bad pupils were by no means dismissed as bad or worthless people by the majority of staff. For instance, some teachers believed that the curriculum was inherently less relevant to some students than to others (see, for example, the discussion in 'White Rules?' concerning teachers' awareness of white ethnocentrism in the curriculum, chapter 7), and that students' consequent lack of interest was an understandable, and, to an extent, legitimate response, even though it created problems for staff. At other times, it seemed to me, in overhearing teachers' discussions that teachers positively valued as <u>personal</u> characteristics some of the attitudes and behaviour which nevertheless led them to see some students as bad <u>pupils</u>, an apparent paradox of which they themselves were aware.

While all these considerations must temper an understanding of the pupil typology adopted here, it still remains the case that if teachers' expectations have a bearing on students' scholastic achievement and on their future life-chances it is most likely to be in terms of those expectations which are most clearly related to students as pupils and which are the most publicly available to students. Thus while the typology does not indicate the totality of teachers' perceptions of individual students it can nevertheless be used to understand the extent to which teachers' values differentiate between pupils.

Specifically, the typology of pupils (Good, Bad, Unobtrusive,

Conspicuous) will be further scrutinised, to see whether particular categories of student (e.g. male; white; working-class, etc.) were more likely to be found among one/some types than others, or whether students were randomly distributed among the pupil-types. If significant sex, ethnic, or class differences emerge, this would justify further work on pupils' values, to consider the part that teachers' preconceptions and pupils' expectations (of themselves and of teachers) play in the causative process.

There are some general features common to the literature on teachers' expectations with respect to class, ethnicity and sex, but, to simplify the presentation, each category will be taken in turn, before a concluding section in which the various findings from the present research will be brought together.

Notes

1. Teachers are not unique in employing such apparently derogatory terms for their clients. Medical and nursing staff in psychiatric hospitals may just as readily be heard talking of the hospital as 'the funny farm' and its residents as 'loony' or 'bananas'. These are perhaps fairly universal means of managing tension and anxiety in the so-called 'caring professions'.

2. Garfinkel in his discussion of clinical records makes a similar point: ' ... the contents of clinic folders are assembled with regard for the possibility that the relationship may have to be portrayed as having been in accord with expectations of sanctionable performances by clinicians and patients' (Garfinkel, 1974, p.120).

3. 'As expressions, the remarks that make up these documents (clinic folders) have overwhelmingly the characteristic that their sense cannot be decided by a reader without his necessarily knowing or assuming something about a typical biography and typical purposes of the user of the expressions, about typical circumstances under which such remarks are written, about a typical previous course of transactions between the writers and the patient, or about a typical relationship of actual or potential interaction between the writers and the reader. Thus the folder contents, much less than revealing an order of interaction, presuppose an understanding of that order for a correct reading' (Garfinkel, 1974, p.121-122, original emphasis). It is my contention that, having spent a considerable period of time at the school in trying to understand the 'order of interaction' between staff and pupils and between teacher and teacher, I am justified in treating school reports as public statements about the educational objectives of teachers at Torville school.

4. It should be stressed that the connotation of teachers' comments was rarely in doubt - 'lacks effort' is clearly a negative comment. Whether it should be placed in the 'conscientiousness' or 'use of abilities' category (see Appendix) is, however, arguable. Such somewhat arbitrary decisions are an unavoidable part of trying to devise clear-cut categories. Large or small differences between one category and another (in terms of the number of students to whom it is applied, or the frequency with which teachers use it) can thus be more or less artificially created by the system of categories used. For this reason, I prefer to group several categories together in the discussion.

5. Categories are referred to by their second sort label. See Appendix V.

6. It may be objected that this is unfair to teachers, who only devalue some students because of their poor achievement and behaviour as pupils. Even if this were the case, it would not negate the general argument, which is that once a pupil, for whatever reason, is seen as being 'good' or 'bad', this will structure teachers' expectations of, and behaviour towards him/her, in such a way that the designation becomes self-perpetuating.

   Nor is it being suggested that teachers' expectations are the only/ major determinant of pupils' success, rather that, at this point, we are concerned with the part that their expectations play in this regard.

Certainly pupils' expectations of themselves and of their teachers are an important element in their achievement and behaviour at school. This aspect is dealt with in the following chapter. To anticipate the perspective in that chapter, the author's view is that teachers' and pupils' expectations interact and may be mutually reinforcing.

7. In other words, median splits for positive and negative comments, separately, were used to give the following typology:

		Positive Comments: Above Median	Positive Comments: Below Median
Negative Comments	Above Median	Conspicuous	Bad
	Below Median	Good	Unobtrusive

8. In discussing this issue, another writer observes:

> 'Most children enter secondary schools with their educational identities partially established in the records, and by the fourth year the question is rather how these identities are maintained than how they were established.' (Keddie, 1971, p.141)

It will be remembered that students in the present study were in their fifth year.

9. The present typology relates quite closely (in terms of 'types' obtained and the associated teacher assessment and behaviour) to two other studies which used very different methods. Good and Brophy (1972) asked American teachers which pupils they would like to keep in their classes ('attachment' group); which they were concerned about ('concern' group); which they were indifferent towards ('indifference group); and which they would like to be removed from the class ('rejection' group). Teachers' attitudes influenced the ways in which they interacted with these groups. In a study in British primary schools Garner and Bing (1973a) used cluster analysis to devise a typology which incorporated both teachers' ratings of pupils and their observed verbal contacts with pupils. They related their typology to Good and Brophy's categories, particularly in terms of pupil-teacher contact. Thus children in cluster 2 ('attachment' group) 'are seen to be bright, outgoing, hard-working and well-behaved, and they are well-liked ... The teacher initiates a high proportion of procedural contacts ... and also provides them with a high frequency of response opportunities' (Garner and Bing 1973a, p.239-40). In terms of personality and work characteristics this would appear to resemble the present Good pupil. Cluster 1 ('concern' group) 'comprises children who are close to the sample mean on measured and rated ability, school performance and attitudes to work. They tend to be rated rather highly on items concerned with 'personality' ... Their teachers tend to like them and interact with them at above average levels. Their conduct is rated as below average, they spend a below average amount of time at their prescribed work, and ... receive relatively high numbers of disciplinary contacts' (Garner and Bing 1973a, p.239) - a close approximation to Conspicuous pupils in the present study. Good

and Brophy's 'indifference' group is similar to both Cluster 3 and 5. Those in Cluster 3 'are seen as being rather 'nondescript'. They are neither very bright nor very dull, they pose no control problems', while 'Cluster 5 comprises fairly bright, well-behaved children, who whilst possessing most of the 'virtues' do not possess them in abundance. They work well' but, as with Cluster 3 'are below average in all kinds of contact with their teachers' (Garner and Bing 1973a, p.240). This aptly matches the present Unobtrusive pupil. Finally, Cluster 4 ('rejection' group) 'have low scores on the teacher's ratings ... Their poor work habits and naughtiness appear to result in their receiving above average amounts of contact in all categories except response opportunities' (Garner and Bing 1973a, p.240). They are less well-liked than other groups. Such a definition appears to accord with the present Bad pupil category.

Chapter 7

Teachers' Perceptions of Three Categories of Student

Each category of student will be discussed in turn, firstly in terms of previous literature and then in terms of the findings from the present study.

Class Matters

Stated baldly, the orthodoxy in this area says that teachers expect working-class pupils to do badly at school - teachers 'tend to expect less of working-class pupils, to assess their abilities as lower than they are, and to have less ambitious goals for them'. (Morrison and McIntyre 1971, p.74). See also Brandis and Bernstein (1974).

A considerable body of research evidence built up during the 1950s and 1960s, which established that, in Britain, pupils from working-class families were, on average, less academically successful than their middle-class counterparts. Three major strands can be seen in the ensuing discussion over the causes for the phenomenon[1]. The reasons for lower achievement among working-class pupils were discussed in terms of the structure of the education system itself, particularly the effects of selection and tripartite school provisions at the secondary level (Banks, 1955); and the unreliability or middle-class bias of the measuring instruments used in selection - the 11+ debate (Floud, Halsey and Martin, 1956); and organisational features of the school itself - the 'streaming' debate (Jackson 1964, Barker-Lunn 1970). Some writers focussed on features of the home environment which were thought to facilitate or impede children's achievement, viz. physical amenities, parental attitudes, family size, 'deviant' family structure (e.g. single parent or 'broken' families, families in which the mother was in paid employment) (Banks and Finlayson

1973; Douglas 1964; Douglas et al. 1968; Jackson and Marsden 1962; Swift 1967; Wiseman 1964). Yet others concentrated on the <u>characteristics of the wider community</u> in which schools were located (Mays 1962).

Much of the research in this tradition is to be found in standard books of readings, e.g. Halsey et al. (1961) and is usefully summarised in Morrison and McIntyre (1971). The basic elements in this view are economically put by one writer, who is commenting on the failure of the Educational Priority Areas scheme set up as a result of the Plowden report (Plowden 1967):

> ' ... it may be said that liberal policies failed basically on an inadequate theory of learning. They failed to notice that the major determinants of educational attainment were not schoolmasters (sic) but social situations, not curriculum but motivation, not formal access to the school but support in the family and the community.' (Halsey 1972, p.8).

Evidence of working-class pupils' relative lack of academic success has been 'read' to mean that schools are middle-class institutions staffed by people with middle-class values.

> 'One of the situations in which children of all social levels come together and compete in terms of the same set of middle class criteria and in which working class children are most likely to be found wanting is the school' (Cohen 1955, p.112).

The <u>assumption</u> remained untested for some time, and gave rise to an axiomatic belief that the values of teachers and pupils (or, more specifically, working-class pupils) are in conflict. A recent researcher, discussing his own experience in nine secondary schools, says,

> 'A survey of the literature on secondary schooling for working-class children would lead one to expect that social life in these schools should be characterised by a high degree of conflict between pupils and staff, high levels of coercion by the teachers and resulting high levels of pupil alienation from the goals of the school ... but this conflict that one might expect ... appears to be largely absent in most of our nine schools in the mining valley. At a time when de-schooling the educational system is held to be the answer to its problems and when journalists of the 'school as hell' variety are attracting increased attention, what is remarkable about social life and interpersonal relations in most of these schools is not that there is so much conflict but that there is so little.' (Reynolds, 1976, p.132)

The experience of the present author confirms such a lack of overt conflict between most pupils and most teachers at Torville and also Reynolds' analysis, that lack of conflict depends on:

> 'the degree to which both staff and pupils have reached an unofficial series of arrangements - or truces - which lay down the boundaries beyond which the participants in the schools will not carry their conflict. (Reynolds 1976, p.133)

Much of the earlier work in the area of education and social class failed to address itself to an analysis of the values of teachers and pupils. Nor did it concern itself with the processes by which the values of the school were thought to be articulated and perpetrated. Hence much of this work is tautologous - defining ab initio the values of the school (by which was meant teachers) as middle-class, and those of low-achieving and/or delinquent pupils (on whom researchers focussed their greatest attention) as working-class. In the case of the latter, these might just as well be dubbed 'anti-school' attitudes. By concentrating on anti-school pupils, the research probably overstates the degree of disparity between teachers' and pupils' values generally, and turns attention away from those pupils of working-class parentage whose values coincide with those of their teachers. Many of King's (1973) findings would tend to support this inference. In this respect the work of Banks and Finlayson (1973) in analysing the parental and pupils' values among educationally successful working class pupils is a notable exception.

Some researchers have, of course, attempted to examine the value differences of teachers and pupils. A pioneering work was that of Bernstein (1961), who contrasts the 'elaborated' linguistic code, which is more typical of middle- than working-class people, and which is the linguistic medium of teaching, with the 'restricted' code typical of much of the working-class. The mismatch between these codes, he suggested, put working-class pupils at a disadvantage in the school learning process (see also

Bourdieu 1974 for a similar discussion of French schooling). Despite his own later disclaimers, Bernstein's work has been interpreted as 'hard' evidence that such pupils come from deprived backgrounds, which throws the discussion of the causation of working-class under-achievement straight back into the 'bad family environment' camp.

Attention has more recently turned to classroom interaction, in an attempt to analyse teachers' expectations, and more particularly to analyse how these are articulated, and by what processes they affect pupils' achievement (Chanan and Delamont, 1975; Hargreaves, 1967; Keddie, 1971; Nash, 1973; Reynolds, 1976; Stubbs and Delamont, 1976). One of the novel features of this research is that the researchers have spent considerable amounts of time in schools, observing pupil and teacher behaviour, and have consequently stressed that schools and the processes within them are somewhat more complex than was envisaged by previous researchers. One writer, commenting on the earlier work, notes:

> 'Throughout the literature the reference is to the school rather than to particular schools; sociologists seem to be operating with highly abstract models of the school which rest on their intuitive hunches about what schools are really like. The implicit suggestion is that all schools are sufficiently alike to produce a standardized response from their pupils.' (Phillipson, 1971, p.139)

That things are not quite so clear cut is demonstrated by both Hargreaves' pioneering work (Hargreaves, 1967 and 1977a) and by Willis (1977). The latter was able to discern two distinct groups of pupil in the boys' schools which he describes - the 'ear'oles', whose values do not bring them into conflict with teachers, and the 'lads', whose values are substantially unlike those of their teachers. Reynolds (1976) suggests that it is possible for pupils and teachers to negotiate a <u>modus vivendi</u> in school, which manifestly does not assume that teachers' and pupils' perspective towards school are similar, but is clearly based on the mutual recognition of differences. Keddie's work (1971) in a streamed secondary

school is particularly instructive. She compares fourth year pupils in A and C streams, who were being taught the same course by a team of teachers. She is able to establish that teachers expect less of the C streamers, and consequently feel they have to alter their teaching to accommodate to the perceived differences between the streams. Teachers 'hear' similar questions or observations by C and A streamers differently, interpreting them in the light of their expectations about C and A streamers' ability. Keddie maintains that C stream pupils actually demonstrate the autonomy of thought which teachers say they value, but that A streamers are believed by teachers to be the more independent, even though they actually depend on teachers' judgements more than C streamers (e.g. A streamers were more likely to discuss their work in terms which echoed what teachers had told them to expect).

These findings are important enough in themselves, but the more so when taken in conjunction with other information revealed by her study. Keddie documents how teachers at that school used the term 'middle-class' as a form of short-hand for initiative, intelligence and motivation. This alerts us to one of the major weaknesses of the literature on teachers' expectations regarding social class and pupils of working- or middle-class origin - that pupils' actual class location (as defined by, say, the Registrar General's Classification) is frequently confounded with teachers' attribution of social class to their pupils. In these circumstances, it is not clear what has been clarified by noting that teachers have lower expectations of the working-class pupils, if that category is defined in the teachers' terms, viz., working-class equals any pupil who has low aspirations, motivation, achievement, etc.

Thus, while the literature appears to be talking about one formulation, it is frequently moving to a subtly different one. The first formulation goes as follows: teachers expect working-class children to achieve less at

school, because they believe that those pupils have experiences and/or values which put them at a disadvantage in school; or, alternatively, working-class children have values different from their teachers, which teachers interpret as anti-school, or associate with poor academic success (Rist 1970; Sharp et al., 1975). The second formulation is: those children who are low achievers, delinquent, anti-school, etc., are labelled working-class, irrespective of their actual class location - such pupils, in this sense, 'might just as well be working-class'.

I would argue here, then, that despite the face validity of much of this research, we do not yet understand the processes by which working-class pupils fail to achieve academically, even though it is clear that many do so fail. I do not believe that it has been demonstrated that working-class children have values which are in conflict with those of their teachers. And the research of Keddie suggests that maybe the contrary is true, while Reynolds' work (quoted previously) suggests that inability to negotiate a mutually agreed <u>modus vivendi</u> may be more important than sheer difference in values. Nor has it been satisfactorily demonstrated that teachers' values discriminate solely against working-class pupils. The literature in this area has concentrated on difficult, delinquent, delinquescent (Hargreaves 1971), or plain anti-school pupils, who are assumed to be working-class and typical of working-class pupils generally. It is hardly surprising that teachers do not place as high a value on the difficult as on the easy pupil, but to assume that difficult pupils and working-class pupils are synonymous is probably not warranted, and to assume that all working-class pupils are anti-school is naive romanticism.

Time has been spent on this aspect for two reasons - much of the writing about teachers' expectations in relation to ethnic minority pupils is grounded in extrapolations from the literature on social class (see following section), and secondly, observations at Torville led me to question the central importance of class as a means used by teachers to distinguish

between pupils.

This is not to suggest that social class was unimportant to the teachers at Torville, but that its relevance was somewhat different. There were two distinct groups of teacher who had recourse to social class in 'explanations' of the school. Both took it for granted that they taught in a working-class school, i.e., one in which pupils were predominantly from working-class backgrounds. The only teachers who actually used the term 'working-class' were the relatively large group of politically radical teachers, for whom it was axiomatic that the composition of the school was homogeneously working-class, and drawn from a working-class area. The other group, less numerous but more senior in the school hierarchy, was made up of teachers who were working at Torville when it had been a grammar school, and who perceived a drop in academic standards and a qualitative difference in levels of aspiration and motivation, which they attributed to the predominance of a different type of pupil entering the school. Both groups believed the school to be working-class, and were incredulous that I should waste time asking pupils questions about parents' jobs. Even greater scepticism was expressed when the statistics on social class background of students in the study were disclosed during a talk to staff after fieldwork was completed. I take their surprise to be an expression of the notion that pupils, with low aspirations and relatively low levels of achievement, were seen by these teachers as, in some sense, 'really' working-class - 'they might just as well have been', given their characteristics[2].

It may be concluded that class was salient to teachers at Torville in a general way, but I heard very few of the sort of comments documented by Keddie (1971), in which social class was used as a synonym for social, cognitive or other skills and abilities. This is perhaps not surprising since, if all pupils were perceived as working-class, some other dimension

would be needed by teachers to understand or explain the differences which they themselves observed in the behaviour and achievement of individual pupils.

Since teachers at Torville considered the student body to be working class it might be thought that no further analysis in this area would be warranted. On the contrary, it would be premature on the data so far set forth to conclude that students' social class was unrelated to teachers' perception of them as pupils. To this point all that has been demonstrated is that teachers at the school did not find social class a useful 'explanation' of differential achievement and behaviour among students. The role of teachers' expectations may be more complex than the operation of pre-conceptions about their pupils' abilities, values, and so on. For instance, teachers may respond to differences (of values, orientations, etc.) among students which are related to the students' objective class location, even though the teachers are unaware of the precise aetiology of these differences. That is, <u>if</u> it is the case that middle- and working-class pupils have (substantially or partially) different values and experiences which cause them to present themselves differently as pupils, teachers may, in responding to these differences, end by evaluating one group more highly than the other, even though they believe all their pupils to be of the same social class background, and even though they do not themselves attribute such differences to the social class origins of the pupils.

For these reasons it seemed essential to further analyse school report data in order to ascertain whether such social class effects were operating in teachers' perceptions of pupils. It will be remembered (see chapter 4) that there was a spread of social classes in Band U. Taking the traditional definition of class, i.e. the occupation of the father (or the mother only when there is no father present) roughly two thirds of the students about whom there was information came from manual ('working-class') and one third

from non-manual ('middle-class') backgrounds. This definition assumes the primacy of the male's occupation in defining a family's social class, in those cases where both husband and wife are employed. In the present study it has been thought useful to suspend such a judgement and so students in Band U were separated into three groups to more accurately reflect their class location: Clearly manual, 46 (43% of students who can be classified into a social class) - students with one parent employed in a job categorised as IIIM, IV, or V in the Registrar General's Classification, or where both parents are so employed: clearly non-manual, 29 (27%) students with one or both parents employed in a job classified as IIIN, II or I; and ambiguous students, whose parents were both employed, but one was in a manual and the other in a non-manual job - these account for 31 (29%) of all students who can be accurately placed in a social class. Whether the latter students should be properly regarded as working- or middle-class is an empirical question. In the following analysis 'ambiguous' students are first combined with clearly non-manual to give a 'higher ranked occupation' definition for social class, and in this case Band U students divide into 43% manual and 57% non-manual. Then they are combined with the clearly manual to give a 'lower ranked occupation' definition for social class for which the students in the study divide into 73% manual and 27% non-manual. By this means it is possible to establish empirically whether the ambiguous students more closely approximate the working- or the middle-class students so far as teachers' perceptions of them as pupils are concerned. It should be pointed out that whatever definition of social class is adopted, Band U students do not form a homogenous working class group, and even using the most cautious estimate middle-class students constitute a significant proportion of the student body.

The literature already summarised would suggest that teachers would be expected to view working-class pupils less favourably than middle-class ones.

In the present study, if this were the case those students who were objectively middle-class would be expected to have received a larger number of positive comments and/or a smaller number of negative comments on their school reports. Similarly, if there were some effect of students' social class on teachers' perceptions of pupils, one would expect to have found a disproportionate number of middle-class students in the Good pupil category and/or a disproportionate number of working-class students in the Bad pupil category. Analysis of school report data indicates some differences in the comments made by teachers about manual and non-manual students.

In the following discussion data will be presented using both the traditional definition of social class - the occupation of the head of household (definition 1) and one which takes account of the ambiguity of the class location of some students (definition 2). Firstly, material from analyses of variance of the mean positive and negative comments received by different groups of students is set out. (In these analyses of variance the variables were sex, ethnicity and social class each time.) Then material from the typology of students will be discussed.

There was a weak trend, which did not reach statistical significance in any of the analyses, for the mean number of negative comments to be higher for manual than for non-manual students; see Table 1.

Table 1 NEGATIVE comments on school reports: social class effects, using alternative definitions of class

Definition of class:	Means		
	Manual	Non-Manual	F value
1. Head of household	2.51	1.38	2.958 n.s.
2a. Higher ranked occupation	2.40	1.95	1.439 n.s.
2b. Lower ranked occupation	2.43	1.38	2.788 n.s.

(In all cases df = 1,93)

However this was true only for white British and Asian students, with West Indian boys from non-manual backgrounds receiving a higher mean number of negative mentions than their manual counterparts when class was

defined in terms of the higher ranked parental occupation[3].

There was also a weak (but not statistically significant) trend for non-manual students to have received a higher mean number of positive mentions than their manual counterparts; see Table 2.

Table 2 POSITIVE comments on school reports: social class effects using alternative definitions of class

Definition of class:	Means		
	Manual	Non-Manual	F value
1. Head of household	6.34	7.62	1.559 n.s.
2a. Higher ranked occupation	6.93	6.62	0.000 n.s.
2b. Lower ranked occupation	6.47	7.55	1.386 n.s.

(In all cases df = 1,93)

Again, though, the overall pattern holds only for white British and Asian students using definitions 1 and 2a only, with non-manual West Indians receiving a lower mean number of positive comments than the manual West Indians when classification is made using the higher-ranked definitions; on the other hand when class is defined in terms of the lower-ranked parental job the overall trend for manual pupils to be seen less positively holds for boys and English and West Indian girls, with Asian manual girls being perceived in a more positive light than their non-manual peers.

In summary, analysis of school reports, using analyses of variance, indicates a weak, but not statistically significant trend towards a less favourable perception of working-class pupils than of middle-class pupils, but with this pattern holding mainly for Asian and white British students only. The position with regard to West Indian students is quite different, with non-manual students being perceived less favourably (in terms of mean numbers of both positive and negative comments) than manual students. (The importance of ethnic background is explored in the next section.)

Analysis using group means may hide differences between individuals, and so it is important to see whether the trends uncovered for each of the broad social class categories, still remain when the school report comments

are considered with regard to each individual student. It will be remembered that students can be allocated to one of four 'pupil types', which were defined in terms of teachers' comments - negative and positive - and which are taken as a kind of index of teachers' perceptions of individual students.

Tables 3A and 3B summarise the social class[4] trends for the whole sample.

Table 3A 'Pupil Type' by student's social class (definition 1: occupation of head of household

	Good	Bad	Unobtrusive	Conspicuous	Total
Manual	20	33	12	6	71
Non-manual	17	7	5	5	34
Total	37	40	17	11	105

X^2 (corrected) = 6.279, 3df, not significant

Good vs other pupil types: X^2 = 4.802, 1df, significant at .05
Bad vs other pupil types: X^2 = 6.534, 1df, significant at .02

Table 3A indicates that there are social class effects with respect to both the Good and Bad pupil categories: manual students were significantly more likely to be found in the Bad than in other pupil categories - of the 44 Bad pupils 33 (75%) came from manual homes while only 7 (16%) came from non-manual families. Non-manual students, on the other hand, were significantly more likely to be found in the Good pupil category - one half of non-manual (as compared with 28% of manual) students were perceived as Good pupils.

By separating students into those who were clearly manual, clearly non-manual, and of ambiguous class location, as already described, it is possible to further analyse the class effects operating on teachers' perceptions of students; see Table 3B.

Table 3B 'Pupil Type' by student's social class (for definitions 2a and 2b of social class)

	Good	Bad	Unobtrusive	Conspicuous	Total
Clearly manual	14	19	6	6	45
Clearly non-manual	15	6	5	3	29
Ambiguous Class	8	15	6	2	31
Total	37	40	17	11	105

Manual vs Non-manual vs Ambiguous

X^2 (corrected) = 5.473, 6df, not significant

Good vs other pupil types: X^2 = 4.998, 2df, not significant

Bad vs other pupil types: X^2 = 5.442, 2df, not significant

Def. 2a, Higher ranked occupation (Manual vs Non-manual and Ambiguous)

X^2 (corrected) = 0.769, 3df, not significant

Good vs other pupil types: X^2 = 0.587, 1df, not significant

Bad vs other pupil types: X^2 = 0.569, 1df, not significant

Def. 2b, Lower ranked occupation (Non-manual vs Manual and Ambiguous)

X^2 (corrected) = 5.063, 3df, not significant

Good vs other pupil types: X^2 = 4.722, 1df, significant at .05

Bad vs other pupil types: X^2 = 5.147, 1df, significant at .05

This table clearly demonstrates that students of ambiguous class origin more nearly approximate the pattern of distribution in the pupil typology of those who were of clear manual origins, in that nearly half fell into the Bad pupil category compared with 42% clearly manual and only 21% of clearly non-manual. This is confirmed in the chi-square values which indicate that a significantly larger number of students who had some manual influence in their background (whether it were the only parent employed, both parents in manual jobs, or one of the two employed) were to be found in the Bad pupil category. Conversely, clearly non-manual students (in

terms of the only employed parent or of both where both were employed) were significantly more likely to be seen by their teachers as Good pupils: whereas 52% of non-manual students came into the Good pupil category, only 31% clearly manual and 26% of the Ambiguous students (making 29% of the 'manual' students by the lower-ranked occupation definition) were perceived by the teachers as Good pupils.

Aggregating school report data to indicate, at a group level, how specific groups of students were perceived fails to reveal any robust evidence of clear differences in teachers' perceptions of manual and non-manual students. On the other hand, using these same data but focussing on individual students to place them into one of the pupil categories, one can infer how teachers perceived the individual student. Consistent and statistically significant differences between non-manual and manual students emerged which were substantially in line with predictions from previous literature in this area. And this was the case despite the fact that teachers' perception of the student body as homogenously working-class might have suggested that there would be no discernible effects of students' social class on teachers' perceptions of them as pupils. Teachers' attribution of social class to their pupils was not borne out by the data gathered on students' objective class position - by whatever definition used there was a sizeable proportion of non-manual students. In addition, teachers' perceptions of their students as Good or Bad pupils did appear to be related to the objective class location of the students. Thus, while teachers did not find social class a useful means to consciously differentiate or discriminate between students in terms of their pupil characteristics, nevertheless they appeared to perceive sufficiently large differences between students - which were grounded in the students' actual class location - to yield consistent and statistically significant trends indicating a more positive evaluation of non-manual, and a lower evaluation of manual students.

This perhaps suggests some consistent differences in the way that the social classes present themselves as pupils?

This would suggest that if teachers' expectations do have any bearing on their perception of students, it is a more complex process than the operation of their conscious expectations or pre-conceptions of certain individual or categories of student; it rather suggests some kind of response on the part of teachers to class-based differences in the students' presentation of themselves (see Sharp et al 1975) and/or to similarly derived differences in their (the students') personal front.

The present study does not altogether confirm the view that pupils' social class is of prime importance in the expectations of teachers at Torville. It does, though, suggest that in a mixed sex, multi-racial school such as Torville, where the social class homogeneity of pupils was taken for granted, teachers considered other aspects of more value in predicting or inferring pupil characteristics. Whether this would characterise all other mixed sex, multi-racial, urban schools is, of course, an open question. Whether the teachers' belief that other aspects of their students' background were of greater value is borne out by an analysis of those dimensions in their perceptions of students, is the question to which I now turn. Those dimensions which did emerge, at Torville, as more salient to teachers' conscious discrimination between students as pupils - ethnicity and sex - will be discussed in turn in the following sections.

White Rules?

I have written elsewhere of the school experiences of ethnic minority pupils in Britain and the major trends in research in the education of immigrant and black children (Fuller 1976, appended; see also Tomlinson 1977). Rather than reiterate that discussion, which in any case has almost

exact parallels with the preceding discussion of teachers' expectations about working- and middle-class pupils, the main points will be set out before reporting findings in this area from the present research.

Research evidence suggests that ethnic minority pupils (although more accurately, some ethnic minority pupils) achieve rather poorly in school (Ashby et al., 1970; Dickinson et al., 1975; Little 1978; Wakefield and Bainbridge, 1974; Yule et al., 1975). As was the case with working class pupils, their relatively low achievement is attributed to various causes - 'deprived' family backgrounds, language deficit or difficulty, 'culture-shock', differences in values between ethnic minority pupils and white British teachers, ethnocentric selection tests, and a curriculum which ignores or devalues the cultural background of ethnic minority groups. It is also assumed that teachers expect less of ethnic minority than of ethnic majority pupils, and that they and others in professions allied to teaching (e.g. careers officers) underestimate their ability (OPCS, 1973); either because of the pupils' supposed deficits or because teachers use skin colour to predict or infer intellectual capacity (Davey 1973).

Scrutiny of the literature on teachers' expectations about ethnic minority pupils reveals two things - firstly, that much of it is based on American experience where the structure and organisation of education is rather different from in Britain, and, secondly, very little is specifically based on teachers' expectations about black or minority status pupils as such, but is extrapolated from what is known or believed about teachers' expectations regarding working-class (in America, 'lower class') pupils. It is thus subject to the limitations and confusions of that literature which were discussed in the preceding section.

The logic of this approach seems to be as follows: since most black/ minority children come from low income families and/or ones in which the parent(s) have a low status job these children are part of the working class.

Hence what applies to working class pupils applies to black children, too, only more so, because of the added dimension of skin colour. A recent writer makes these assumptions quite explicit:

> ' ... there is some indisputable evidence ... of the ways in which the lower-class child's experience, even from before birth handicaps him in the educational process. Those which derive from his material environment (rather than the more suspect 'inadequacies' of social-ization and cultural ways) may be directly translated into other situations of poverty and deprivation, whether they involve black or white people.' (Milner, 1975, p.172, emphasis added).

We have already seen that objective class location and teachers' attribution of social class to their pupils are not co-terminous. In the preceding section it was argued that the researcher who wishes to under-stand the potentially important process of attribution whereby 'bad' pupils, irrespective of class origins, are labelled working-class and 'good' pupils are perceived as middle-class, needs to be clear in her or his conceptualisation and definition of social class. Failure to clarify these issues, it was suggested, has meant that our knowledge about teachers' expectations about pupils of different social class location is somewhat limited.

It compounds the confusion for researchers to automatically place black or ethnic minority pupils in the 'lower-class' category since in doing so they preclude an analysis of whether and in what ways teachers perceive skin colour to be synonymous with low status and/or with membership of the 'lower-class' as defined by them. In other words, it pre-judges the issue and thereby cuts off the possibility of investigating the process of attribution.

It may very well be the case that all or some teachers start with a preconception of black or ethnic minority pupils which is prejudicial to them[5], with expectations that foresee low ability and/or low achievement (Ingleby and Cooper 1974) and that such pupils are slotted into a pre-existing category 'working-class' - which has experiential validity for teachers[6]. But it may also be the case that teachers have expectations of

ethnic minority pupils in addition to or quite separate from their expectations of white pupils, but which nevertheless result in similar low self-evaluation and achievement by the ethnic minority pupils. In addition, as others have pointed out, 'Relationships between social class membership and educational performance which have been established for native born children will not necessarily hold for an immigrant population.' (Dickinson et al., 1975, p.128). For all these reasons it is heuristically valuable to keep separate the concepts of class and ethnicity in order to understand whether and in what circumstances the two are used synonymously and interchangeably, and when they are conceived as relatively discrete - in other words to regard the question as open to empirical evidence rather than a foregone assumption.

The present study confirms neither a straightforward higher evaluation of white pupils as compared with non-white, nor a monolithic devaluation of ethnic minority pupils, even though there were systematic and significant differences in the way teachers perceived certain categories of pupil.

Using teachers' comments on school reports as a guide to their values it is possible to compare teachers' evaluation of white British, West Indian and Asian students. Analyses of variance of pupils' school report data discloses a strong effect for pupils' ethnicity for the way that teachers perceived them. As a group, Asians received a significantly larger number of positive comments than the white British who in turn received a greater number than West Indian students. Similarly West Indians received a significantly greater mean number of negative comments, as a group, than either the white British or Asians[7].

Assuming that reports tell us as much about teachers' perceptions of pupils as about the pupils themselves, it is clear that teachers at Torville perceived ethnic minority pupils somewhat differently from white British. It is equally clear that this was not a simple white versus black

dichotomy, and that teachers perceived Asian pupils in a significantly different light from both white British and West Indian pupils. The most outstanding conclusion is that while white British students were seen in a significantly more positive way than West Indians, Asians emerged as the most highly evaluated group. In many respects West Indian and white British students were perceived as similar, in the sense that the group means for these two groups tended to demonstrate the same trends.

This form of analysis can only draw out trends at a group level, which might mask considerable variation within the group. Therefore it is instructive to approach the question of teacher expectancy with regard to pupils' ethnicity from a different perspective. The typology of students, already described, provides such an opportunity, since students were allocated to one of the four types on the basis of his or her individual school report. Table 4 demonstrates that there is, indeed, some variation within an ethnic category in the way that individual students were perceived. For example, there were some Asian students who were seen as Bad pupils and some West Indian and British perceived by the teachers as Good pupils. Nevertheless, the proportion of Asian students in the Good pupil category remained significantly higher than the proportions of either white British or West Indian students. In addition the proportion of West Indian students seen by their teachers as Bad pupils continued to be significantly higher than either white British and, particularly, Asian students. Thus it can be concluded that to a significant degree individual students in any one ethnic group conformed to the overall perception of their group by the teachers. The fact that some students in each ethnic group were not seen by teachers at Torville in the same light as the group as a whole, does strongly suggest that if teachers' perceptions are a reasonable approximation to their expectations then, at this school, there was not overwhelming evidence to suggest that their expectations amounted to a blanket labelling

of pupils in a particular category.

Table 4 Pupil status of students, by Ethnicity

	Good	Bad	Unobtrusive	Conspicuous	Total
White British	23	28	15	5	71
Asian	18	4	5	3	30
West Indian	4	12	2	3	21
Total	45	44	22	11	122

X^2 (corrected) = 12.192, 6df, not significant

X^2 (corrected) = 8.518, 2df, significant at .02 - 'good' vs other pupils

X^2 (corrected) = 9.175, 2df, significant at .02 - 'bad' vs other pupils

Numbers in the Conspicuous and Unobtrusive categories were too small to permit accurate statistical tests, but it is worth considering to what extent the individual student in each of these categories conforms to or diverges from the trends set out above. The greater negative assessment of West Indian pupils holds in the Conspicuous group although there were no great differences among the pupils in this category in relation to positive comments[8]. Among Unobtrusive students there was confirmation of a greater positive assessment of Asian pupils, but no evidence of the greater negative perception of West Indian students.

The specific findings in the present study, that, in the main, Asians were seen as exemplary with white British and, particularly, West Indians being seen as relatively bad pupils, are not especially novel or unexpected. Much previous research indicates that Asian pupils commonly achieve more highly than white British ones (Ashby et al., 1970; Taylor, 1973). Many previous researchers have documented the differential school performance of West Indian and Asian pupils (Bhatnagar, 1970; Community Relations Commission, 1974; Driver, 1977; Goldman and Taylor, 1966; ILEA, 1967 and 1968; Little et al., 1968; Tapper and Stopps, 1963; Townsend and Brittan, 1972; Yule et al., 1975). This would lead one to expect that teachers with

experience of teaching Asian pupils might be more predisposed to perceive subsequent Asian pupils in a favourable light, and, similarly, that teachers with experience of West Indian pupils might be more inclined to expect lower performance and/or greater behaviour difficulties with subsequent West Indian pupils. However, to the author's knowledge no work exists which actually demonstrates this process.

The discussion so far has differentiated students only in terms of their ethnicity. One aspect of potential importance in the experience of ethnic minority pupils which marks them out from white British students is that a proportion will be immigrants to Britain, with all the possible discontinuities in family life, school experience and cultural mores which may attend migration from one country to another. Evidence has accumulated indicating that in Britain it makes a difference in many areas of their life whether people from ethnic minorities are British born or immigrant. Specifically in relation to schooling, there is evidence (Ashby et al., 1970; Burgin and Edson, 1967) of a 'consistent and marked improvement in immigrant performance with increasing length of English education' (ILEA, 1967). This may be partly attributable to students' increasing awareness of and facility in operating in the specific culture of British schools - the 'white rules' referred to in this section heading.

It is extremely unlikely that teachers will have exact knowledge of whether the ethnic minority pupils they teach are immigrant or British born. But insofar as these differences in status and experience do affect students' academic performance and/or their self-presentation as pupils, it might be that teachers respond, in their assessment of students, to such differences among ethnic minority pupils. It would not matter to the present argument that teachers did not construe the differences in terms of the pupils' immigrant or British born status, only that such objective differences caused them to perceive the students in systematically different ways.

If this were the case, one would expect, in the present study, to find a higher proportion of British born in the Good pupil category and/or a higher proportion of immigrant students in the Bad. Table 5 sets out this information.

Table 5 'Pupil Type' of immigrant and British-born ethnic minority students

	Good	Bad	Unobtrusive	Conspicuous	Total
Immigrant	19	7	6	3	35
British-born	3	9	1	3	16
Total	22	16	7	6	51

Good vs. other pupil types: χ^2 (corrected) = 4.298, 1df, significant at .05
Bad vs. other pupil types: X^2 (corrected) = 5.122, 1df, significant at .05

In actuality the data indicate quite the reverse of the hypothesised relationship between teachers' perceptions of immigrant and British born students - significantly fewer British born were seen as Good pupils, than were immigrant pupils; and significantly fewer immigrants than British born were seen as Bad pupils. Thus the overall effect is that immigrants were perceived in a better light than their British born counterparts. However, there were considerable differences between Asians and West Indians in the proportion who were immigrant - the majority of the former being immigrant while the majority of the latter were British born, and thus it is more instructive to separate the two ethnic minorities in order to uncover what effects, if any, pupils' immigrant status has on teachers' perceptions of them as pupils. Table 6 gives information for Asian students.

Table 6 'Pupil Type' of immigrant and British born Asian students

	Good	Bad	Unobtrusive	Conspicuous	Total
Immigrant	18	2	4	3	27
British born	0	2	1	0	3
Total	18	4	5	3	30

Good vs. other pupil types: X^2 (corrected) = 2.607, 1df, not significant
Bad vs. other pupil types: X^2 (corrected) = 3.878, 1df, significant at .05

This confirms that a larger proportion of British born students was seen as Bad. On the other hand no such relationship exists among West Indian students, as reference to Table 7 shows. A relatively large proportion of all West Indian students was seen as Bad pupils irrespective of place of birth.

Table 7 'Pupil Type' of immigrant and British born West Indian students

	Good	Bad	Unobtrusive	Conspicuous	Total
Immigrant	1	5	2	0	8
British born	3	7	0	3	13
Total	4	12	2	3	21

It was clear from listening to teachers discussing their work among themselves that ethnicity was a highly salient dimension in their thinking about pupils. It was also clear that for many teachers ethnic minority pupils were problematic. As another writer has rightly observed, the proportion of time given to discussing certain pupils or categories of pupils is an indication of which students are viewed as problematic (Keddie, 1971). At Torville the ethnicity of pupils was, in these terms, demonstrably more salient than either students' social class or sex, in teachers' discussions. As might have been expected some staff quite clearly articulated the view that it was reasonable to expect differences in behaviour and learning patterns from minority pupils. There was not, however, a consensus about the meaning to attach to these expected differences, nor about their implications for teachers' actions in the school. A few teachers did appear to have lower expectations and a lower evaluation of West Indian students. Others, while recognising that in many respects Asian pupils could not be faulted as pupils, nevertheless were worried that their exemplary pupil behaviour might be at the expense of their wider social development. At the same time other teachers interpreted the differences between minority and majority students as a prescription for positive action on their (the teachers') part.

It would be wrong to assume that the time given by teachers to discussing problematic students meant that they perceived all students, whether white British or from ethnic minorities, as difficult or awkward, although this was an impression which the unwary observer, or one who based conclusions only on teachers' verbal behaviour, might have obtained. Even so the discussion was usually related to particular, difficult West Indian students, with the unstated or explicit rider that not all West Indian pupils were difficult. Of the relatively numerous occasions noted of teachers talking about pupils in terms of their ethnic background there was not one when any teacher expressed complacency about the state of affairs - always the issue was raised in terms of how they, teachers, could work to overcome them. Teachers seemed to feel that they, rather than the pupils had the main responsibility in trying to prevent disaffection with school, low achievement and so on among (particularly) West Indians. While they might expect behaviour or learning difficulties this did not seem to lead them to adopt a stance of 'well, what can you expect?', or similar types of comment which would suggest that they could not be expected or need not try any further.

Ethnicity was resorted to as an 'explanation' of pupils' difficulties more often than as an explanation of their positive achievements, though there were examples of the latter in relation both to West Indian and Asian students.

Using school reports of students in Band U, it has been possible to look at teachers' perceptions of white British, West Indian and Asian pupils. It would not be too fanciful to conclude that there existed for teachers a kind of hierarchy of students, based on their perceived characteristics as pupils. This hierarchy was associated with the ethnic membership of pupils. The present data do not suggest that skin colour alone is sufficient to explain the differences in teachers' perceptions of pupils - if non-white skin on

its own were enough to make teachers undervalue pupils, then one would hardly expect Asians to be more highly evaluated than the white students. On the other hand ethnicity was, for teachers, a useful part of the pupil's 'personal front' from which to predict or infer their behaviour as pupils. Examination of immigrant and British born ethnic minority pupils yielded the unexpected finding that those Asians who had been born in Britain were more likely than their immigrant peers to be seen as Bad pupils. In the light of previous research which would suggest the opposite tendency this is an interesting finding, which indicates the need, when discussing this issue to differentiate between ethnic groups.

Finally it was stressed that while teachers did appear to use a pupil's ethnic group membership - at least for ethnic minority students - as a means of understanding some students' behaviour and activity in the school, there was evidence from the researcher's observation of teachers at Torville over a fairly extensive period that such an 'understanding' was by no means taken as a prescription for lack of action on the part of teachers. This may seem an obvious point, but there are tendencies in the literature concerning teacher expectancy, to assume that teachers treat their conceptions (or preconceptions) as immutable facts about their pupils, which once having grasped they need do nothing about. If Torville is at all representative, I would suggest that a quite opposite tendency could be discerned - in their more optimistic moments teachers at Torville were more inclined to assume they had a greater part in the perfectibility of the human race than their own daily experience or that of an observer would indicate was warranted.

Sex Divides

Two major structural variables have been considered in the sections immediately preceding, because it is recognised that they are of potentially equal importance to sex-class in understanding both the interactions between pupil and teacher and the 'pupil status' which teachers accord their students. A discussion of gender and sex-class in school would be incomplete without some attempt to analyse pupils' and teachers' expectations and achievements in terms other than their sex. No claim is made that these have been covered other than scantily. The main focus of this research is on sex-class and gender in school and for this, if no other, reason greater coverage would be given to these concerns.

However there are other considerations which justify this emphasis. In the first instance recent work in this area is of a generally high quality and warrants wider recognition than it has hitherto received in Britain; while it has long been known that there are consistent differences between the sexes in terms of their school achievement, very little attention has been paid to understanding what part the school plays in either creating or ameliorating these differences (Lightfoot 1975). The recognition of differences between male and female students in their school career has not until very recently created the social and political unease which has been clearly demonstrated with regard to social class and ethnic differences. Indeed, it is suggested here that differences between the sexes have been so taken for granted, i.e. assumed to be natural or unchangeable, or both, that many statements of educational policy have been predicated on the legitimacy, or at any rate, the immutability of differences (Marks 1976; Wolpe, 1974 and 1977). Thus in many respects the issue of sex-class and gender in school is qualitatively different from those of social class and ethnic minority status - it is considered illegitimate to aim to produce or perpetuate differences based on a pupil's ethnicity or

social class and where such differences continue to be manifest, policies are produced whose aim is to prevent their continuation. In other words, social class and ethnic effects on a pupil's achievement are treated as indefensible, unintended consequences which ought to be eradicated with all possible speed. This is in marked contrast to the position of the sexes in school, where post-war statements of educational policy have quite explicitly stated that differences between the sexes should be catered for via a differentiated curriculum in order to render school the more relevant to students' future 'role' in life. At best differences in school attainment of males and females are treated as unavoidable, if regrettable. In other words:

> 'educational research has followed contemporary definitions of what constituted an educational problem, thus looking at wastage of talent, inequality of opportunity, immigrant children, school leaving ages and school organizational features',

with the emphasis clearly on social class, so that:

> 'Inequality of opportunity between the sexes was rarely recognized as a problem or at most seen as an anachronism that would disappear with co-education.' (Davies and Meighan, 1975, p.167: emphasis added).

An interest in teachers' differential expectations of the sexes is of relatively recent origin, at least in Britain. Literature in this area differs in many respects from that covered in the two preceding sections. It is based on research in the school setting rather than on inference or analogy. There is very little room for misunderstanding between researcher and teacher that they are both dealing with the same category when the terms male and female are used, and thus there is almost no likelihood that the researcher will confound teachers' definitions with a different 'objective' definition (as was the case with both the category of social class and immigrant) since the two definitions are synonymous. It should however be noted that this does not apply to the associated concepts of gender and sex-role, where as much room exists for disparate definitions and consequent potential lack of clarity in reporting research findings as was indicated

over the social class and immigrant categories.

There is a greater degree of sophistication in the researches on sex - variables associated with the school (e.g. whether it is single-sex or co-educational, primary or secondary level, etc.) and with the teacher (sex-class, experience, etc.) are commonly reported and integrated into the analysis in recognition that the particularities of the school, as Phillipson (1971) has pointed out, are essential elements in an understanding of the processes to be described. Unfortunately the bulk of the work in this area stems from North America whose educational system and practices are not directly comparable with those in Britain. I shall draw on such British studies as exist and non-British ones will be compared with these and, where possible, with material from the present study. Where, through lack of data, comparisons are not possible the American literature can nevertheless point to ways in which researchers in this country might pursue the issues further.

The relatively poor overall academic achievement of girls is documented by various writers. The data suggest that girls actually outperform boys in the primary school[9] and that it is part way through the secondary school before boys' average achievement overtakes that of girls (Douglas 1964; Douglas et al 1968; Dutch and McCall 1974; Maccoby and Jacklin 1975; Murphy 1977; Pidgeon 1960; Ross and Simpson 1971; Wisenthal 1965). This is in contrast to what is known about both working-class and ethnic minority pupils whose level of achievement relative to middle-class and white pupils respectively seems to be consistently different (and in most cases, lower) throughout the schooling period (Dickinson et al 1975).

Predictably, the differential achievement of males and females has been attributed to biological differences, in particular the 'reproductive role' of women and the onset of menstruation. The somewhat discreditable history of biological/evolutionary theories of sex differences in relation to

education is documented by other writers (Burstyn 1973; Fee 1976; Kipnis 1976; Saraga and Griffiths 1977; Shields 1976). They are not treated in detail here although it is recognised that such theories may have relevance for teachers' expectations of the sexes in two ways; as has already been argued the presumption of the inevitability of different spheres for adult males and females has underwritten much past and recent educational policy in Britain such that different treatment of the sexes may be more or less entrenched in schools[10] despite any commitment otherwise by some or all teachers; secondly, the belief that primary sexual characteristics are predictive of other personality, behaviour and aptitude characteristics may lie at the root of some teachers' differential perception of female and male pupils. That is to say, it may provide in teachers' minds a justification for treating males and females differently and/or provide a generally available 'understanding' of differential behaviour (in which is included academic achievement) between the sexes.

To an extent these speculations are borne out by the literature on teachers' attitudes to the sexes and to 'sex-role' generally and by research which has concentrated on teachers' behaviour to females and males in the classroom. These studies are referred to later in this chapter.

The sociological and psychological literature in the area of differential academic achievement largely eschews an interpretation of differences based on biological immutables (but see Dale 1975 and McGuinness 1975) and, instead, takes as its starting point that under-achievement is a learnt behaviour. There are differences among writers in the emphasis that they accord to the relative importance of home, school and wider societal values and arrangements for the genesis and maintenance of differences between the sexes. Most commentators interpret the fact that girls begin to show lower levels of achievement during the course of their secondary schooling to mean that the school is in some way implicated - some have

argued crucial (Davies and Meighan 1975) - in shaping sex-typed behaviours. For example, it has been argued that pressures in school, from teachers and peers, at the very least reinforce tendencies deriving from outside the educational setting for girls to fear success (Horner 1971) and to have lower levels of motivation to succeed. These phenomena are usually treated as psychological dispositions (Ward 1977) rather than situated responses (Condry and Dyer 1976). Recent studies in both America (Tomlinson-Keasey 1974; Tresemer 1974) and Britain, using samples of university undergraduates (Weinreich and Chetwynd 1976) do not indicate such large sex differences in this respect as were reported in the original study. The later studies tend to confirm the view that achievement attitudes and behaviour are partly learnt (and therefore potentially susceptible to changes from within and outside school) but also indicate the importance of viewing such 'characteristics' of the sexes in the social and historical contexts in which they are evinced. There are some parallels between this literature and that which dealt with low self-esteem among black people. In both cases what has been treated as a stable personality trait appears to be much more specific to certain situations. It may be that recent legislation (Equal Pay Act 1972, Sex Discrimination Act 1975) which reflects the increased deference to the principle (if not the actuality) of equal opportunities for women, will affect the 'unalterable' lower aspirations and achievement of females in and outside school. If underachievement is learnt behaviour as is suggested here, the question remains as to when and where girls learn to underachieve. Some writers who point to the school's having a part in shaping sex-typed behaviour invoke the notion of a hidden curriculum through which pupils learn what is appropriate for males and females. (Frazier and Sadker 1973; Lobban 1978; Wolpe 1977)

Two aspects of the hidden curriculum - the relative status of female and male teachers and of 'male' and 'female' disciplines - were discussed

at some length in Chapter 5, where another aspect (the male bias of teaching materials) was mentioned but not analysed in depth. It will be remembered that a large proportion of school subjects was sex-typed (in terms of the sex of those who taught them); that 'male' subjects were more central to the curriculum than 'female'; and that there was a significant trend over several years during which Band U students were attending Torville for male teachers to have higher official status than female teachers. This may also be observed in the posts available to pupils; for example, King (1973) discovered that in some British mixed secondary schools 'boys tended to occupy school positions more frequently than girls at every age-level' (King 1973, p.42). It was suggested that such visible discrepancies in the value placed on males and females could be taken by students as a message to be internalised[11]. One effect of this internalisation would be to introduce new or reinforce existing understandings of the relative value of the sexes.

Those students (male or female) who already believed in the superiority of the male would hardly feel challenged by these phenomena whereas those who believed in the equality of the sexes (or the superiority of women) would find such arrangements at school difficult to incorporate with their existing views. Insofar as students related these evaluations of the sexes at school to themselves, it is likely that their self-concept (as masculine or feminine) would be involved. Since it appears that self-concept is related to learning and educational performance (see Thomas 1974 for a review of some of this literature), if the devaluation of females apparent at school were incorporated into the self-concept of girls it is likely to have a depressing effect on their achievement at school.

It may be, however, that such aspects of the hidden curriculum are thought to be only tenuously related to students' achievement in school. I shall turn to other areas where teachers' behaviour and attitudes are more obviously and closely linked to students' achievement, through their relationship with students in the classroom. In this respect teachers'

attitudes in general towards females and males and towards sex-role are of interest, the more so when they are translated into different behaviour towards the sexes in the classroom.

Teachers' attitudes to the sexes and to sex-roles

In a study of sixty Canadian secondary school teachers Ricks and Pyke (1973) found that while more women than men favoured certain Women's Liberation issues, they nevertheless were not critical of current sex-roles. Indeed their attitudes corresponded very closely to those of Canadian suburban housewives. Similarly, although nearly half of these teachers thought pupils had no particular preference for either a male or a female teacher, all of the 24 who believed pupils did have such a preference were agreed that pupils prefer a male teacher 'because males speak with more knowledge, authority, more directness and greater clarity' (p.30)[12]. A majority of all teachers (though many more male than female) thought female and male pupils expected differential treatment, in line with their sex-class and traditional gender expectations. Girls 'expect to be treated in a more ladylike, genteel fashion, less sternly, more caringly, and with consideration of their feelings' while boys 'expect more sternness, setting of limits, authority, and to be told how it is, and do not want mothering'. (p.29). As the authors conclude:

> 'Generally speaking, it appears that teachers observe noticeable traditional sex role differences in the classroom and feel that students want to be treated accordingly.' (Ricks and Pyke 1973, p.29).

Further, while endorsing somewhat conventional views about the sexes and sex-roles for themselves, a majority of these teachers also considered that it was not their responsibility, as teachers, to facilitate sex role changes in pupils.

Reyersbach (1974), a teacher in a British primary school, confirms that teachers observe and/or expect differences between the sexes,

differences which in their behaviour towards male and female pupils teachers magnify rather than reduce:

> 'Teachers tend to exploit what they consider are the natural tendencies of girls. It is girls who arrange the flowers, water plants and tidy up, whereas boys take out the rubbish and help put up pictures. Thus, in comparatively insignificant aspects of school and classroom organisation children are channelled into roles which are considered appropriate for their sex.' (Reyersbach 1974, p.138)

Echoing the findings from Ricks and Pyke's study Reyersbach also suggests that pupils:

> ' ... are given no opportunity to challenge them ('appropriate' sex-roles) or equipment with which to examine the fairness or otherwise of the social order which is presented. Thus teachers, unaware of, or ignoring their ethical responsibility to treat children justly, reinforce the sex-role conditioning already begun in the home.' (Reyersbach 1974, p.138)

Another study attempted to discover the extent to which American male and female secondary school counsellors subscribed to conventional views about women. The researchers (Thomas and Stewart, 1971) used audio-tapes of interviews with girls who had an interest and ability in maths and sciences. The tapes were played to the counsellors and the girl was presented as wanting to be either an engineer or a home economist. All counsellors saw the choice of home economics as more appropriate, though inexperienced counsellors tended to perceive the choice of engineering as more inappropriate than did experienced counsellors. The researchers conclude:

> 'Analysis of the statements which were used to describe the rating of appropriateness of career choice revealed that counselors were most concerned about realism, practicality, interests, and chances for personal satisfaction in making this rating. As the definition of these characteristics has been largely determined by cultural stereotypes, counselors were significantly influenced by the cultural definition of appropriate work roles for women when determining appropriateness of career goal.' (Thomas and Stewart 1971, p.354-5).

In a large-scale study of British secondary education Dale (1969) records a number of teachers' comments about male and female staff and pupils. Teachers were specifically asked to compare the sexes and so it is

not possible to gauge the centrality of sex-class to their perceptions of pupils and teaching colleagues - it may be that its importance is exaggerated in this study. Nevertheless, the comments are illuminating because they indicate that the teachers (who had varying combinations of experience of single-sex and coeducational schools both as pupils themselves and as teachers) shared some common perceptions of the sexes. Thus female teachers were typified as finicky, over-precise in their exercise of authority, magnifying petty worries, apt to lose proportion through high seriousness and conscientiousness, and fussy, whereas male teachers were considered to be casual, nonchalent, and to have a more detached attitude (Dale 1969, p.262). Similar somewhat polarised views about female and male pupils were expressed[13]. Male pupils were seen as innately wild, selecting essentials more easily, confident, vivacious, practical, naturally quicker at maths, bolder, and showing more initiative. In contrast girls were seen as anxious, conscientious, industrious, neat, persevering, thorough, literary, inferior to boys in many forms of out-of-class activities, conscientious in working out the longer but easier questions in maths, and generally quieter and more hard-working. Since such large differences were perceived it is not surprising that one teacher stated:

> 'The interests and general attitude of the two sexes are so different (at equal age) that it is not possible to do both justice by the same approach.' (Dale 1969, p.262)

What is most impressive about the teachers' comments concerning both pupils and fellow teachers is the degree of consensus regarding the characteristics of females and males and the extent to which their perceptions are consonant with stereotypic notions of masculinity and femininity (see also Davies, 1973).

One researcher (Kemer, 1965) specifically asked junior high school teachers to select adjectives that they felt would describe good female and good male pupils. The resulting lists closely correspond to current

stereotypes about appropriate sex roles. Thus good male pupils were described as: active, adventurous, aggressive, assertive, curious, energetic, enterprising, frank, independent and inventive. In contrast good female students were typified as: appreciative, calm, conscientious, considerate, cooperative, mannerly, poised, sensitive, dependable, efficient, mature, obliging and thorough. It may be, as with the research by Dale, that in presenting teachers with the task of describing good male and female pupils separately, rather than asking them to describe 'a good pupil' that teachers' recourse to stereotypic gender attributes in their pupils is over-estimated. It is of particular interest, though, that the typifications of American secondary school teachers bear so great a resemblance to those of their British colleagues.

Douglas (1964) noted that British primary school teachers expected boys and girls to behave differently and to be motivated in different ways. Blackstone (1976) summarises these expectations as follows:

> 'Teachers find boys difficult and unresponsive, and are much more likely to categorize them as lazy or poor workers, lacking in concentration or both. By contrast teachers expect girls to be more docile, attentive, diligent and less adventurous.' (Blackstone 1976, p.210-11)

Subsequent research in North America suggests that similar expectations of sex differences are held by teachers at various levels of schooling. Briefly, teachers typify or expect girls to be somewhat passive and dependent while boys are thought to be active and independent. Thus Levitin and Chananie (1972) presented American first and second grade primary school teachers (all female) with male and female hypothetical pupils who were either assertive or dependent. Teachers were asked to indicate the typicality of the consequent four pupil types and their liking for such pupils. The aggressive boy and dependent girl were seen as significantly more typical than the aggressive girl or dependent boy. From the teachers' expressed liking for the types of pupil it was concluded that teachers were more likely to approve of children who exhibit behaviour 'appropriate' to their

sex-class. In the study of Canadian secondary school teachers already referred to (Ricks and Pyke 1973) nearly three quarters of the teachers believed male and female students perform or behave differently. Most of these described boys as more active and over a third saw girls as more passive.

Loo and Wenar (1971) throw further light on these perceived differences between female and male students in a finding incidental to their main research interest (the relationship of activity level and motor inhibition to performance on an intelligence test). As part of their research design they asked kindergarten teachers to assess the activity levels and impulsivity of their pupils, using an observational rating scale. In both areas teachers reported significant sex differences which an objective measure (bodily movement measured by a modified self-winding calendar wristwatch worn by the pupils) failed to confirm. That is, teachers reported that boys were more active than girls although, in practice, no such differences could be discerned on a more objective measure. Loo and Wenar's work appear to confirm that teachers' preconceptions about the sexes influence their perception of pupils. Thus at primary and secondary stages, there seems to be substantial agreement among teachers both that boys and girls do behave differently and the way in which these differences manifest themselves.

It is now necessary to consider what consequences for the <u>evaluation</u> of female and male pupils follow from teachers' perception of differences between the sexes. One author reviewing this literature and citing Maccoby and Jacklin (1975) in support infers that:

> 'At the pre-school and primary levels, teachers value female and male pupils equally but describe their typical behaviour very differently.' (Lobban 1978, p.56)

A careful reading of the literature, however, suggests an equally plausible interpretation, which is that <u>from pre-school (day care centre or nursery)</u>

throughout infant and junior school teachers prefer female to male pupils.

One indicator of this is that in response to the question 'If your class was to be reduced by a few children, which would you have removed?' teachers of first grade classes nominated twice as many boys as girls (Good and Brophy, 1972). Similar results were obtained by Ingleby and Cooper (1974) who surveyed British infant school teachers to ascertain from them 'the aspects of children of which their job made them most aware' (p.463). This resulted in six rating scales covering the following areas: Character (e.g. obedient, cooperative, responsible), Brightness (e.g. well-endowed mentally, observant), Work (e.g. keen, attentive, determined), Sociability (e.g. communicative, popular), Home (i.e. home background which encourages adjustment and progress at school), and Language (i.e. good command of English). Initially and at the end of their first year at school girls received higher ratings than boys. It is of interest here that teachers' differential rating of the sexes was less marked among indigenous white pupils than among 'immigrants' (which included Asian, West Indian, African and 'other' immigrants).

Consistent with this phenomenon and related to it, there also appears to be a trend over time, in various countries, among both trainees and practising teachers (with varying amounts of teaching experience) and in schools of different social class composition, for certain kinds of pupil behaviour to be preferred, and for these preferences to be associated with, and sometimes mediated by, the sex-class of pupils. The kinds of characteristics which teachers use (or are asked by researchers to employ) to differentiate between pupils are frequently also closely related to aspects of conventional gender differentiation. Teachers appear to favour 'feminine' characteristics in their pupils (King 1973).

For example, in one study (Feshbach 1969) female elementary school teacher trainees were presented with sixteen stories which depicted boys

and girls engaged in ordinary classroom activities and manifesting one of four personality clusters. The personality characteristics were independent, active, assertive; flexible, non-conforming, untidy; dependent, passive, submissive; and rigid, conforming, orderly. The first two clusters contain personality traits frequently thought to be more characteristic of males, while the third and fourth clusters incorporate certain supposedly feminine characteristics. The student teachers were asked to assess the intelligence of each child and to rank children according to how much they (the students) would like to have them in the class. In decreasing order, the trainees preferred rigid, dependent, flexible and independent personality clusters in pupils; that is, feminine clusters were preferred to the masculine ones. Feshbach summarises the findings thus:

> 'For the rigid and dependent clusters, girls are rated more highly than the boys. For the flexible and independent clusters, the boys obtain higher rankings than the girls ... The expectation that sex-typed behaviors are more acceptable when displayed by the appropriate sex is supported ... " (Feshbach 1969, p.130)

With the exception of rigid, conforming girls (who were seen as most intelligent) and dependent boys (who were judged least intelligent), in general boys were seen as more intelligent than girls. Thus student teachers' assessment of pupils' intelligence was only partly related to their expressed liking for pupils and only partly related to 'sex-appropriate' behaviour in the pupils. On the other hand the student teachers' expressed preferences for pupils was clearly related to 'sex-appropriate' behaviour in the pupils.

The study already cited (Levitin and Chananie 1972) in which American primary school teachers indicated their approval of three types of pupil behaviour demonstrates that, irrespective of pupils' sex-class, they approved most of achievement, then dependency and least approved of aggressive behaviour. However, they liked the achieving girl significantly more than the achieving boy, and the dependent girl more than the dependent boy. The

aggressive boy was liked more than the aggressive girl, but was not significantly more liked than the dependent boy. Thus the behaviour of which teachers approved was not related to the sex-class of pupils. On the other hand dependency and aggression are associated with stereotypic femininity and masculinity, respectively, so it is not surprising that Levitin and Chananie found that teachers' liking for pupils who demonstrated each cluster of characteristics was mediated by the sex-class of the pupil. In addition, teachers perceived the achieving and dependent girl as more typical than the aggressive girl, whereas they considered aggression as the most typical form of behaviour for boys[14], followed by achievement and then dependency. Since approved pupil behaviour was perceived as more typical of girls than boys it would appear that more girls than boys would be liked by their teacher. Even in the less frequent instances of boys manifesting approved pupil characteristics they would be less well-liked and approved because of the 'feminine' nature of these pupil characteristics.

Much less systematic information is available concerning secondary school teachers' evaluation of the differences which they perceive between male and female pupils. It is difficult, for example, to be certain from Dale's (1969) survey of British teachers that a clear preference exists for either the 'female' or the 'male' characteristics which they describe, though it seems reasonable to infer that the typification of the male is more wholly positive in tone than that of female pupils. Nearly two thirds of the teachers (in two British comprehensive schools) whom Davies (1973) asked, expressed a preference for one of the sexes, 72% (29) favouring boys because they felt that it was easier to communicate with them (8), their future employment was important (4) or that boys had superior ability and/or greater interest in their work (17). Only 11 teachers preferred to teach girls because they were considered more

conscientious (5), showed more receptivity to the subject which that teacher taught (3) or had a 'natural inclination' for their particular subject (3). Ricks and Pyke asked secondary school teachers whether, and for what reasons, they preferred teaching female or male pupils. Just under a half indicated a clear preference, 22 opting for boys and 5 for girls. In explanation the authors write:

> 'The most frequent reasons cited for this male preference are that males are more outspoken, active, willing to exchange ideas, open, honest, and easier to talk to. The only reason cited for preferring female students is that females are easier to discipline.'
> (Ricks and Pyke 1973, p.30)

Now this finding is particularly interesting because it suggests that although teachers at the secondary level continue to perceive essentially the same differences between the sexes as in the primary school, a change has taken place in their evaluation of these differences. Activity and assertive behaviour by males, seen at the primary school as disruptive aggression, now takes on a new colour - boys are now seen as outspoken, willing to exchange ideas, etc. - characteristics which the teachers explicitly say they value. In marked contrast, passivity and dependence in girls, interpreted in a positive light at the primary level, would appear to make them viewed at the secondary level as secretive, less honest and difficult to communicate with. Teachers in Davies' (1973) study made similar distinctions between female and male pupils, using concepts such as 'devious ', 'insidious', 'resentful', 'bearing grudges' to describe girls' behaviour while typifying boys' behaviour as 'mischievous', 'prank-playing', 'naughty' but 'owning up'. This together with the fact that at some stage during secondary schooling boys, on average, begin to outstrip girls in that pupil 'characteristic' - scholastic achievement - which is particularly valued by teachers, makes it possible to infer that <u>at secondary school male pupils are preferred to females</u>.

The work of Good et al (1973) adds some substance to this inference.

Researching the interaction of maths and social science teachers with pupils at the junior high school level, they conclude:

> ' ... the male teachers were more likely to praise boys than girls while female teachers treated the two sexes more equally. While this finding favors boys in male classrooms, it occurs not because of female bias against boys but because of male bias towards boys and/or against girls.' (Good et al, 1973, p.78)

There is no comparable British study, but if the same process were to be found at work in Britain, the fact that male teachers outnumber females at the secondary level[15] would suggest some general bias in favour of boys.

There is another way of approaching this question of the differential evaluation of the sexes, which is somewhat different from asking whether teachers directly express clear preferences for one or other of the sexes. This has been tackled by a number of commentators who have examined the importance which teachers attach to the education of boys and girls at this stage. It is frequently asserted that teachers regard the education of boys at secondary school as more important than that of girls. Smith (1974c), for example states:

> 'Many girls who have received education in mixed schools say that they feel their own education was regarded as second class, that it was more vital for the boys to have a good education than for them.' (Smith 1974c, p.142)

A number of teachers in Dale's research also pointed out that something of this sort occurred in the schools of which they had experience, and suggested that it might be particularly noticeable in mixed schools. The following quotations come from teachers with teaching experience in both single-sex and co-educational schools:

> 'My experience of co-education suggests that the boys are well catered for in the curriculum at the expense of the girls.' (Dale 1969, p.48)

A second teacher elaborates this point:

> 'The type of staffing and the selection of subjects are studied from the boys' angle, and good girls are often denied study in a particular subject (e.g. Mathematics).' (Dale 1969, p.48)

There is independent evidence that at least in the twenty year period up to 1964 per capita expenditure in girls' schools was lower than in boys' and that in mixed schools grants for subject development went disproportionately to 'male' subjects such as science (Byrne 1975). A DES survey (DES 1975) also confirms that, in 1973, some subjects continued to be available only to one sex, and that girls were offered a more restricted range of subjects than boys in mixed schools. King (1973) commented on the narrower provisions for girls in his study of 72 schools. The third teacher suggests that the devaluation of girls' education or the restriction of their choices in school may be specific to schools headed by a male:

> 'In co-ed. schools under a Headmaster there seems to be a tendency for development in subjects specially suited to the boys and those specially suited to girls are somewhat neglected.' (Dale 1969, p.262)

Since the majority of British secondary schools is headed by a male[16] the last teacher's comment, if true, would apply to most secondary schools.

Finally, in the schools studied by King, the author found that pupils in all-girls' schools (including grammar schools) were less frequently set homework than pupils in all-boys' and mixed schools and that checks of pupils' school performance were less regularly made in the all-girls' schools, which he interprets as 'possibly indicating a different degree of importance placed on success in school work for the sexes.' (King 1973, p.96).

So far only that literature dealing with teachers' attitudes to the sexes and to sex-roles inside and outside the classroom has been reviewed. Certain trends have been discerned: the perception of large differences between the sexes; a relatively uncritical acceptance of conventional sex-roles; a greater liking for females and 'feminine' behaviour in pupils up to and including the primary stage; and some evidence of a greater liking for male pupils and greater importance attached to boys' education at the secondary stage. From none of these studies is it possible to say whether

such views are translated into systematically different treatment of the sexes inside the classroom. It is to studies which attempt to explore this dimension of school life that I now turn.

Teachers' behaviour towards boys and girls in the classroom

All of these studies involve observation (for varying periods of time) of pupil-teacher contacts in the classroom. Pupil-teacher interaction is most frequently, but not invariably, defined in terms of verbal contact, which is subdivided into a number of dimensions. Some researchers, relying only on such observational material, report consistent differences in the amount and type of contact which girls and boys receive (Brophy and Good 1970; Jackson and Laharderne 1967; Meyer and Thompson 1956; Serbin et al 1973; Spaulding 1963). Others expressly relate their observations of differentiated teacher behaviour to teachers' expressed liking for certain pupils (Good and Brophy 1972; Silberman 1969) and/or to other teacher-defined categories of pupil (Garner and Bing 1973a; Good et al 1973; Martin 1972). With the exception of Garner and Bing (1973a) who studied British primary schools, the literature is based on American schools and none of the studies concerns pupils in the later years of secondary schooling.

Silberman (1969) demonstrated a relationship between teachers' categorisation of pupils and their behaviour towards these groups in the classroom. Since teacher-defined categories of pupil are themselves related to pupils' sex-class, as was shown earlier, there is also evidence, from studies employing these categories, of more or less marked differences in teachers' behaviour to the sexes. Consistent with the literature on teachers' attitudes to male and female pupils throughout the primary stages of schooling, boys are significantly more criticised for their classroom behaviour than girls (Brophy and Good 1970; Garner and Bing 1973a; Good

and Brophy 1972; Jackson and Laharderne 1967; Lippitt and Gold 1959; Martin 1972; Meyer and Thompson 1956; Serbin et al 1973; Spaulding 1963). As examples, Serbin et al (1973) found that teachers directed three times as many loud (as compared with soft) reprimands to boys and responded more frequently to aggressive behaviour in boys than in girls, while Jackson and Laharderne (1967) estimated that boys received nine to ten times more critical comments from their teachers than girls. While boys tend to be criticised for 'bad' behaviour when girls are criticised, it is more likely to be for lack of knowledge and skill (Spaulding 1963).

This does not imply, though, that girls receive more praise, because as a number of researchers has found there is a separate and equally significant trend for boys to receive more praise as well as more criticism for their classroom behaviour (Good et al 1973; Meyer and Thompson 1956; Serbin et al 1973; Spaulding 1963). What this suggests is that <u>boys receive more attention from their teachers and that teachers interact much less often with girls in the classroom</u>. This relationship between sex-class of pupil and teacher behaviour can be discerned in virtually all aspects of interaction that have been studied, and not only verbal praise/approval and criticism/disapproval. Thus Spaulding (1963) found that teachers also listened more to boys and spent more time teaching them. Serbin et al (1973) in the 15 nursery classes studied, Jackson and Laharderne (1967) in three of the four primary classes in their research and Martin (1972) in the five second grade (predominantly black) classes of his study all confirmed that teachers directed more of their teaching towards boys than girls. As one of the studies concludes:

> ' ... all activities of boys, appropriate or inappropriate, are more likely to attract teacher attention. Girls are more likely to be ignored, except when directly beside the teacher.' (Serbin et al 1973, p.803)

The reasons why teachers pay so much more attention to boys and spend so much less of their time interacting with girls must now be

considered, since it is not at all the most obvious outcome from the trends discerned in the literature on teachers' evaluation of the sexes. Some writers (surveyed in Good et al 1973) have interpreted the differences in pupil-teacher contact as evidence that teachers, because they are predominantly female in the elementary school, are prejudiced against boys and/or biased in favour of their own sex. That boys receive more frequent praise than girls is seen as some attempt on the part of teachers to expiate their guilt for disliking boys. Thus one study suggests:

> 'It may be that the teachers are attempting to reinforce any positive behavior that the boys may display. Or this tendency to praise boys more than girls may reflect compensatory behavior for guilt feelings created in the teacher by her excessive aggressiveness towards boys.' (Meyer and Thompson 1956, p.387-88).

An interpretation of pupil-teacher contact which takes into account pupils' characteristics and behaviour, i.e. one which sees such contacts as part of a process of interaction between pupil and teacher seems both more plausible and enlightening.

Spaulding (1963) raised the question, without having sufficient information to answer it, whether boys received more contact with teachers because they demanded more attention. There are various ways in which this can be approached. If boys more frequently manifest behaviour in the classroom of which teachers disapprove and feel needs correction, then in this sense boys do demand greater attention. To illustrate with one example: primary school teachers dislike aggression (see preceeding section of this chapter) and believe boys are more prone to such behaviour than girls, a perception which at least two of the present studies confirm (Brophy and Good 1970; Serbin et al 1973) in independent observations of pupils' classroom behaviour. Teachers' critical behaviour towards male pupils does not arise, as Meyer and Thompson (1956) suggest from 'a lack of appreciation for the term 'normal' male child' (p.393) - as much of the previous discussion demonstrates teachers acknowledge and substantially

endorse conventional sex-roles. But it does arise because more males exhibit disliked behaviour. In brief, boys are criticised, not for being boys, but for being aggressive (Martin 1972). Aggressive girls are disapproved of even more than such boys (Levitin and Chananie 1972) and it could be predicted that they would encounter as much, if not more, criticism for their behaviour as similar boys. A further indication that more boys than girls exhibit behaviour which teachers might feel calls for comment is the finding that significantly more often than girls, boys ignored teachers' directions (Serbin et al 1973).

There is, however, a more direct way in which boys appear to demand greater attention - they initiate more contacts with their teachers than do girls (Brophy and Good 1970; Serbin et al 1973). For their part teachers were not only more likely to respond to boys' initiatives than to girls' but to spend longer with boys who had made the first move towards them than with girls who had initiated contact. The work of Martin (1972) is particularly important in this respect because it suggests that teachers do not interact more with all boys, but that certain boys demand more attention than others and than most girls. He asked fifteen teachers to rank all pupils in their class according to the degree to which they exhibited behaviour problems and to do so irrespective of each pupil's level of intellect or attainment. Teachers were left to use their own definition of a behaviour problem. The consequent ranking did appear, from separate measures, to be independent of the children's attainment. More boys than girls were deemed to exhibit behaviour problems and so the researcher took the four lowest-ranked girls (i.e. those with behaviour problems) and matched four boys with them so that both groups had similar mean rankings on the class list. Four boys and four girls from the same class were similarly selected to form 'non-problem' groups. Teachers' interaction (on five dimensions) with these four groups was

then observed. Teachers had almost twice as much contact with the behaviour problem boys as with any of the other three groups (which did not differ significantly among themselves in mean pupil-teacher contact). This trend held across all types of contact studied, one of which was pupil-initiated contact. Thus boys considered to demonstrate problem behaviour in class received more contact not simply because teachers directed more attention towards them, but because they themselves solicited more attention than did other pupils.

From this research Martin concluded, as did Brophy and Good (1972), Good et al (1973) and Garner and Bing (1973a) from theirs, that there was very little evidence of teacher bias towards either of the sexes and thus that teachers' differentiated behaviour towards the sexes can be readily understood as a response to differential behaviour on the part of pupils.

Certain trends observed during fieldwork at Torville would tend to support this line of reasoning. While most pupils behaved fairly consistently throughout the school day, irrespective of the teacher or the subject, there were some pupils whose behaviour was noticeably different in some lessons, a phenomenon also noticed by Furlong (1976). I noted 19 boys (22% of all boys) and 6 girls (12% of all girls) whose behaviour in at least one subject or with one teacher was consistently and noticeably different from in other classes. The way in which some boys behaved 'out of character' during technical subject lessons has already been discussed in Chapter 3. Inconsistencies in pupils' behaviour were partly reflected in conflicting assessments of these pupils by their teachers. Thus, on school reports, where a student received comments from two or more teachers on a particular value (e.g. on the co-operation dimension) the comments would, in most instances, be consistent (i.e. all negative or all positive) on that dimension. In a small number of cases, though, different teachers

would assess the same pupil in opposing ways (see Table 9, Appendix V). Thus one pupil described as 'pleasant and co-operative' and 'quiet and co-operative' by two teachers was described as 'unco-operative and disruptive' by a third. Analysis of the reports discloses that 6 girls and 20 boys were recipients of such contradictory assessments on one or more value dimensions. These included all of those whose behaviour was noticeably different in different classes. In addition there was one boy whose behaviour did not appear to me to substantially differ across lessons; he was always very prominent in the class, which one teacher thought indicated that he was directing his energies away from school work while a second interpreted this behaviour as evidence that the boy was working to full capacity. I would suggest that this differential assessment of pupils whom I had previously noticed displaying grossly different behaviour in one subject or with one teacher would support the view that teachers' assessment of pupils is related to actual differences in pupil behaviour, not just to teachers' prejudices. Other writers have concluded:

> 'The data suggest that sex differences in classroom interaction patterns are mostly due to students, not the teacher, and that teachers are primarily <u>reactive</u> to the differential presses that boys and girls present.' (Good et al 1973, p.85: original emphasis).

Such a conclusion nevertheless needs some qualification. Pupils' level of achievement at school seems to be particularly important in understanding teachers' discrimination between and interaction with pupils (and is, as will be remembered, an aspect which teachers themselves indicate that they value highly). Teachers discriminate behaviourally more between high and low achieving boys than between high and low girls (Good et al 1973). That is, differences in teachers' treatment of pupils exhibiting different behaviour is most clearly seen in their treatment of boys; they appear to discriminate more between types of male pupil than between types of female pupil. Teachers adopt relatively similar behaviour

towards girls while the treatment of boys appears to depend more on what they are like as pupils. This is independent of the separate question of whether, as pupils, boys demonstrate more widely differing characteristics and behaviour than girls (Sears and Feldman 1966).

If Good et al's (1973) suggestion that pupils' behaviour structures that of teachers, were found to hold throughout the secondary school (the literature reviewed so far deals only with pupils aged up to about 13) this could have important implications for interpreting existing British studies of relations between older secondary pupils and their teachers. British writers, working in a somewhat different observational tradition, certainly confirm the importance of pupils' achievement and teachers' perception of pupils' intellectual capacity in structuring teacher-pupil relations (Hargreaves 1967; Keddie 1971; Lacey 1970; Willis 1977). None of these studies specifically addresses itself to how and in what ways pupils' sex-class mediates that relationship, and, Keddie excepted, they are based on samples of one sex - boys. It may be that these British studies have thereby over-emphasised the extent of teachers' discrimination between pupils on the basis of various pupil 'characteristics', including academic achievement. One further British writer (Delamont 1976a) using observational techniques similar to those in the American studies cited here has looked at differences between teachers in their relationship to pupils. As she expressly chose a girls' secondary school characterised by considerable homogeneity in pupils' social class background, intellectual ability, values and goals, where the latter were substantially in accord with those of teachers and parents[17], it is not possible to infer from the study how teachers' behaviour relates to differences among the pupils. At the very least the apparent importance that pupils' sex-class makes in the extent (though not the manner) to which teachers discriminate between particular pupil types should underline the caution needed in generalising

about teachers' relationship with pupils when the research is based only on pupils of one sex.

Teachers of both sexes, then, react in essentially the same manner to girls and boys in the classroom providing that girls and boys behave in the same way. Where the sexes do differ from each other in terms of classroom behaviour teachers differentiate their behaviour towards males and females, but male and female teachers differentiate their behaviour in essentially similar ways. That is, teachers irrespective of their sex-class, are more critical of aggressive than of dependent behaviour, at least at the primary level of education. On the other hand, teachers do not necessarily undertake their teaching in the same way - the subject which they teach and to a lesser extent their own sex-class appear to be relevant in this regard. Among the maths and social sciences teachers studied by Good et al (1973) differences emerged which suggested that social studies teachers (of both sexes) had more relaxed and discussion-centred lessons while maths teachers (both sexes) had lessons which centred on mastery of specific content. The differences in teaching style attributable to teachers' sex-class, although less important than those attributable to subject taught, are interesting in that they are fairly consonant with stereotypical gender differences (the instrumental/ expressive dichotomy):

> 'The female teachers are generally warmer, praising more frequently and showing more tolerance for misbehavior. The male teachers seemed more concerned about putting across the subject matter and were more diligent in working with students to elicit satisfactory responses when their initial attempts did not succeed.' (Good et al 1973, p.77-78)

It is worth noting that the effect of this female teaching style was to encourage pupils of both sexes to take a more active part in lessons, than was the case in lessons taught by males.

Much of the foregoing information about teachers' behaviour can be understood in terms of the adoption of a professional role 'teacher' by

both females and males. Differentiated behaviour towards boys and girls arises not because of a bias towards pupils of a particular sex *per se*, but through preferences for particular pupil behaviour which may be more or less closely related to pupils' sex-class and gender. These preferences would appear to favour girls in the primary school, but boys in the secondary school. Other writers have drawn attention to the need to distinguish between the personal and professional orientations of teachers:

> 'Teachers are expected not to differentiate among children according to ascriptive criteria such as race or sex. Approval or disapproval of a particular behavior, regardless of the sex of the child performing that behavior is a professionally appropriate response. However, how much a teacher likes a particular child is a more personal matter. So long as she does not respond to the same behaviors in liked and disliked children in different ways, so long as she displays neither favoritism nor discrimination, she is not violating her professional code.' (Levitin and Chananie 1972, p.1315)

Thus it is possible to discern a fairly complex interaction of conventional gender expectations and preferences for pupil characteristics among teachers, and of more or less 'appropriate' gender behaviour and interaction with their teachers among pupils. It seems to be the case that teachers 'are not concerned with the development of gender identities in their pupils. These are taken for granted.' (Wolpe 1977, p.26) The research reviewed here suggests that teachers are not mistaken in their assumptions and that many pupils display 'appropriate' gender behaviour in the classroom. Nevertheless, although it may be that teachers do not see the development of sex-appropriate behaviour as part of their teaching function, their handling of pupils in the classroom has implications for the maintenance or modification of pupils' gender behaviour.

In addition to instruction, teachers' interaction with pupils involves more or less implicit attempts to transmit classroom 'rules' (Torode 1976; Walker and Adelman 1976) and to specify acceptable and proscribed behaviour among pupils. Thus for pupils a good deal of social learning may take place in the classroom. The way in which they handle pupils'

behaviour - by taking notice or ignoring it - may partly determine teachers' success in encouraging acceptable behaviour and discouraging unacceptable behaviour. It will be remembered that:

> ' ... there seems to be a tendency for active children - either hard workers who initiate teacher contacts, or miscreants who behave badly - to receive contacts. The nature of the contacts appears to be dependent on the nature of their activeness. The reverse of this is also true; passivity results in low levels of all kinds of contacts.' (Garner and Bing 1973a, p.241)

In this regard among nursery school children, at least, when aggressive behaviour was ignored its incidence tended to decline (Brown and Elliot 1965). In a similar vein O'Leary et al (1970) suggest that loud reprimands audible to the class maintained disruptive behaviour while soft reprimands directed at the offender effectively decreased disruption. Teachers' greater verbal criticism of boys for their disruptive behaviour would, if Brown and Elliot's findings were replicated in older pupils, tend to maintain boys' disapproved behaviour, the more so since boys appear to receive a larger proportion of loud critical comments. It seems inherently less likely, though, that the greater passivity of girls, which typically means that they receive less of the teachers' attention, would disappear or be discouraged as a result of being ignored. For while assertiveness is not highly valued by primary school teachers pupils so behaving are apparently assured of considerable contact (albeit mixed in tone) with teachers, and:

> ' ... it is possible that much of the 'trouble' teaches at least some of the boys that they can create some interesting effects in the classroom by being independent of the teacher.' (Sears and Feldman 1966, p.31)

No such 'interesting effects' result from dependency and passivity, which although valued by teachers at the primary stage, seems only to ensure that pupils so behaving are somewhat ignored.

Thus the specific ways in which teachers typically respond to disruptive and passive behaviour in young pupils would tend to reinforce rather than

change them. Many of the lessons to be learnt from their behaviour, would be the reverse of those which teachers might be expected to desire. It may seem paradoxical to suggest that this nevertheless has potentially beneficial effects for boys and deleterious ones for girls in the later years of schooling. Teachers' greater expressed liking for female than for male pupils is not straightforwardly translated into greater overt interest and contact with the girls. Sears and Feldman (1966) suggest that the more frequent interaction between teachers and male pupils might encourage:

> ' ... a cumulative increase in independent, autonomous behavior by boys as they are disapproved, praised, listened to, and taught more actively by the teacher.' (Sears and Feldman 1966, p.31)

While it seems likely that there might be:

> ' ... a lowering of self-esteem generally for girls as they receive less attention and are criticized more for their lack of knowledge and skill.' (Sears and Feldman 1966, p.31)

Researchers writing after Sears and Feldman have come to similar conclusions and in this respect the work of Serbin et al (1973) is particularly interesting since they suggest that similar behaviour on the part of girls and boys is differentially reinforced because teachers respond to it in different ways according to the sex-class of the pupil:

> 'The results of this study confirm the hypothesis that differential contingencies for disruptive and dependent behavior are in effect for boys and girls in the classroom ... patterns of teacher attention are those which would be expected to differentially maintain or even strengthen existing levels of disruptive behavior in boys ... (and) to differentially strengthen and maintain dependency. Teacher reactions to solicitation by boys included more directional and instructional responses, thereby encouraging them directly to become involved in various activities in the classroom. Teacher responses to solicitation by girls contained fewer directions and instructions, but equivalent amounts of nurturant forms of attention such as praise, physical contact, and helping. These forms of response do not specifically direct or encourage the child to become involved in projects or activities but do appear to reinforce proximity and attention seeking in ways which encourage or necessitate remaining close by ... ' (Serbin et al 1973, p.802)

These processes may not particularly enhance boys' self-esteem at the primary school level (Jackson and Laharderne 1967) but appear to

reinforce behaviour which at some stage during secondary schooling becomes reinterpreted and more highly valued by teachers (Ricks and Pyke 1973). At that level boys continue to be more salient for and to receive greater contact with their teachers than do girls and in this way it could be said that boys now receive greater positive reinforcement for their appropriate classroom behaviour. Since girls continue to be less actively involved with teachers they continue to be reinforced, by default, in behaviour which has become less valued. If girls' self-esteem were thought to be lessening at the primary level (Sears and Feldman 1966) there would appear to be little in their classroom experiences at secondary school to enhance its development. However these inferences are highly speculative. What seems more certain is that, in attempting to encourage certain types of pupil behaviour, which themselves are related to pre-existing sex - 'appropriate' characteristics in the pupils, teachers indirectly and inadvertently encourage rather than alter the development of 'normal' gender identities.

In scope and sophistication of measuring instruments the literature concerning teachers' expectations, attitudes and behaviour towards the sexes reviewed here, goes well beyond what can be reported about Torville school. It does, though, place the limited information from the present study in a wider context. It will be remembered that the research was not originally conceived as a specific study of teacher-pupil interaction nor solely of teachers' behaviour towards the sexes. It seemed from the literature that the part played by school (i.e. teachers, other pupils and the curriculum) in the development of pupils' gender identity was relatively well understood and would be obvious in fairly gross ways, so that it could, in a sense, be taken for granted, thus leaving the way clear for concentrating on other influences and aspects of pupils' conceptions of masculinity/femininity. Only gradually during the course of working in the school did I become aware that the rather clearcut

differences other researchers had described in relation to teachers' attitudes and behaviour towards male and female pupils were not nearly so visible at Torville. Because of certain self-imposed limitations it was not possible to properly investigate this phenomenon in the detail which it warrants[18]. Necessarily restricting myself to pupil-initiated contacts with teachers I tried during the course of participation and observation in lessons to obtain such information from at least one lesson in each set. The following descriptive material is offered as a tentative analysis of the situation at Torville.

I was able to discern only two examples of apparent teacher bias, in the first of which two of the five maths teachers (all male) might be seen as demonstrating in their behaviour to pupils a bias towards males. Having noticed that, in contrast to the somewhat sex-segregated seating arrangements preferred by most pupils in other lessons, in all maths lessons and in all maths sets there was a good deal more mixing of the sexes, I asked pupils to explain why this happened. A white British boy claimed that girls were not good at maths and so chose to sit next to boys, who were. This interpretation was strongly contested by an Asian girl who suggested that girls tended to be ignored by the teacher in maths lessons and so they sat next to boys as a means of getting some attention from the teacher. Analysis of both boys' and girls' contact with teachers in maths lessons indicates that their initiatives could be classified into the following types: asking for clarification of the task, seeking help, asking for their work to be looked at or marked, offering answers, and contacts which were apparently irrelevant to the lesson[19]. Girls initiated approximately equal numbers of each of these types of contact, while boys less frequently asked for their work to be scrutinised and rather more frequently engaged the teacher in 'irrelevant' interaction. Girls initiated proportionately more contacts than boys in maths lessons, and this was

particularly the case for those girls sitting next to another girl. This would tend to confirm the second 'hypothesis', that if girls want the teacher's attention they need to actively attract it and that one way of doing so is to sit near pupils who more readily engage the teacher's notice (boys).

Wolpe (1977) cites an example of a male teacher specifically 'grooming' a girl to behave in a feminine way and to use her 'female charm' to obtain from another teacher something which was required for the first one's lesson. It is not clear whether this was an isolated or common incident. I observed no incidents of this kind at Torville. I did hear frequent exhortations for students to 'act your age', 'remember you're not at (Torville Lower) now', etc., but, to my surprise, none of the type of comment which equates female qualities with stupidity, immaturity and so on, as in 'Stop behaving like a girl' addressed to a boy. I noted one small group of male teachers who did differentiate their behaviour towards the sexes in the matter of forms of address. All teachers called pupils by their first name and for most this was the only way in which they addressed individual pupils. Less frequently teachers would address the class as a whole - as in 'Quiet, form 5!' A few male teachers had quite a repertoire of jokey alternative forms of address for boys; thus when trying to attract a boy's attention they might call him 'squire', 'guvnor' or, where he was talking to a girl, by the name of a male film star. While these form a very small proportion of the total classroom incidents observed they are consistent with others' conclusion (Good et al 1973; Ricks and Pyke 1973) that male teachers are more likely to differentiate their behaviour towards the sexes than are females.

My impression of little obvious discrimination between girls and boys is possibly given circumstantial credence in that pupils' perception of the situation was similar to mine. Thus, differential treatment of

the sexes did not feature prominently in informal discussions I had with students and nor did a large proportion of those formally interviewed mention it (7 of the 51, including some who mentioned it only after prompting). Similarly (and also in contrast to what I initially expected) when discussing the type of teachers whom they liked, age and general subject area were considered more important determinants than a teacher's sex-class. Of course, other interpretations than the present one may be placed on this[20].

Turning now to teachers' perceptions of male and female pupils, as these may be discerned from their comments about pupils on school reports, it is clear that as a group girls were not perceived significantly differently from boys (see Tables 8 and 9 which briefly summarise data from separate analyses of variance, for which full details may be found in Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6 of Appendix V).

Table 8 NEGATIVE comments on school reports: boys and girls compared

Analysis of variance comparing:	Mean comments*		F value
	Boys	Girls	
Sex and ethnicity	2.170	1.610	3.105 (1,116 df)
Sex, ethnicity, social class (definition 1)	2.406	1.732	3.663 (1,93 df)
Sex, ethnicity, social class (definition 2a)	2.406	1.732	4.244** (1,93 df)
Sex, ethnicity, social class (definition 2b)	2.406	1.732	3.260 (1,93 df)

* Note that means in the first analysis are different from the others because they are based on 122 students: only 105 could be accurately asigned to a social class.

** Significant at .05.

As will be noticed only in the analysis which divides pupils according to the 'higher ranked' definition of social class did girls receive

significantly fewer negative comments than boys. When positive comments were analysed there was a consistent trend for girls to receive a larger mean number of positive comments than boys, but this did not reach statistical significance.

Table 9 POSITIVE comments on school reports: boys and girls compared

Analysis of variance comparing:	Mean comments* Boys	Girls	F value**
Sex and ethnicity	6.530	7.340	3.105 (1,116 df)
Sex, ethnicity, social class (definition 1)	6.406	7.293	3.021 (1,93 df)
Sex, ethnicity, social class (definition 2a)	6.406	7.293	2.670 (1,93 df)
Sex, ethnicity, social class (definition 2b)	6.406	7.293	3.260 (1,93 df)

* Means in the first analysis are based on 122 students, those in the others on 105 students.

** None of these is statistically significant.

There were no significant interactions between sex-class, ethnicity or social class (however defined) which might have suggested that teachers' perception of male and female pupils was mediated by a pupil's social class and/or ethnic origin. As a group, then, girls received fewer negative and more positive comments on their school reports, suggesting a (non-significant) trend for teachers to perceive girls in a somewhat more favourable light than boys. This finding is in accord with teachers' perception of girls as more 'studious', noted by other British researchers specifically writing about pupils at secondary school (Davies 1973; King 1973).

This slightly more favourable view of girls qua pupil may also be seen in the pupil typology (see Table 10). A higher proportion of girls (43% compared with 30% of boys) was seen as Good pupils, while a greater

proportion of boys was seen as Bad (40% compared with 33% of girls). Thus while a greater absolute number of girls was perceived as Good rather than Bad, the reverse was true of boys, and because of the greater number of boys in Band U, Bad male pupils were more than twice as numerous as Bad female pupils.

Table 10 Teachers' perception of pupils, by pupils' sex-class

	Good	Bad	Unobtrusive	Conspicuous	Total
Girls	19	13	7	5	44
Boys	26	31	15	6	78
Total	45	44	22	11	122

X^2 (corrected) = 1.198, 3 df, not significant.

Good vs. other pupil types: X^2 = 1.172, 1 df, not significant.

Bad vs. other pupil types: X^2 = 1.27, 1 df, not significant.

Good and Conspicuous vs. Bad and Unobtrusive (i.e. above vs. below median for positive comments): X^2 = 2.071, 1 df, not significant.

Bad and Conspicuous vs. Good and Unobtrusive (i.e. above vs. below median for negative comments): X^2 = 0.485, 1 df, not significant.

Tables 11A, B and C set out information about teachers' perception of male and female pupils in each of the three ethnic groups. These indicate that greater proportions of white British and West Indian boys were seen as Bad pupils than their female counterparts, and that higher proportions of Asian and white British girls were seen as Good rather than Bad pupils. Asian boys conformed to the female pattern rather than the male, while West Indian girls, distributed evenly among the pupil types, were nevertheless seen in a somewhat more favourable light than their male peers.

As already indicated (see preceding chapter) I would hesitate to base my analysis on the cognitive content of teachers' comments on school reports, and yet concentrating on the connotations of the remarks irrespective of their cognitive content might mask certain consistent

Table 11A Teachers' perception of white British as pupils, by pupils' sex-class

	Good	Bad	Unobtrusive	Conspicuous	Total
Girls	11	9	4	3	27
Boys	12	19	11	2	44
Total	23	28	15	5	71

Table 11B Teachers' perception of West Indians as pupils by pupils' sex-class

	Good	Bad	Unobtrusive	Conspicuous	Total
Girls	2	2	2	2	8
Boys	2	10	0	1	13
Total	4	12	2	3	21

Table 11C Teachers' perception of Asians as pupils, by pupils' sex-class

	Good	Bad	Unobtrusive	Conspicuous	Total
Girls	6	2	1	0	9
Boys	12	2	4	3	21
Total	18	4	5	3	30

differences in the type of comments made about male and female pupils. It would be possible, while not receiving a significantly different number of comments - positive, negative or in total (see Tables 7A, B and 8, Appendix V) - for girls and boys to be perceived in very different ways by their teachers. Thus, if certain values were applied more to one sex than the other the implication would be that teachers were using one standard by which to evaluate boys and a different one to assess girls. In the present case this can be examined in three ways. Firstly, there is no evidence that among pupils to whom a value was applied one sex received significantly more mentions than the other (see Table 10, Appendix V). With regard to the proportion of each sex receiving a mention

on the 14 values, a significantly higher proportion of girls than boys received comments in the Pleasantness and Leadership categories, indicating that teachers perceived more girls than boys as pleasant and taking initiatives in school. Although the difference between the sexes does not reach statistical significance, it is worth noting that the only pupils perceived as easily distracted from their school work were boys (see Table 9, Appendix V). However, while equal proportions of both sexes received comments on a particular dimension, it might be that the connotation of the comments (i.e. positive or negative in tone) could systematically differ as between females and males. Further scrutiny of the value dimensions reveals very few differences in this regard (see Table 9, Appendix V). Such marginal differences as exist may be briefly summarised as follows: higher proportions of girls were seen as inconsistent in their school work and lacking interest in it (Consistency and Liveliness dimensions); higher proportions of boys were seen as unco-operative, immature, unreliable and having a poor attitude to work (Co-operation, Maturity, Reliability, Attitude to Working dimensions). It should be stressed that none of these differences is great. Thus in terms of <u>frequency</u> of attribution, <u>proportion</u> of each sex receiving comment and <u>connotation</u> of the comment in the 14 values making up teachers' teaching values, there is no overwhelming evidence of systematic and significant differences in teachers' perception of male and female pupils.

This brief look at the specific components of teachers' values does not suggest that inferences based only on the overall numbers of positive and negative comments and disregarding their content need to be altered. Such trends as there were complement those observed from several analyses of variance and statistical tests applied to the pupil typology, specifically that girls, as a group, were seen in a somewhat more favourable way than boys. It may be concluded that there is no robust evidence to suggest systematic bias in teachers' perception of female and male pupils. Teachers

at Torville would appear to be using one pool of values by which to assess the pupil characteristics of both male and female students, so that the few differences observed cannot safely be attributed to teachers employing separate standards for the two sexes.

These findings perhaps require some explanation and amplification since they are not wholly in accord with previous research concerning teachers' perception of secondary school pupils, either in Britain or the United States, which was reviewed earlier in this chapter. To fully understand these findings and to place them in as complete a context as possible it will be necessary to look not only at the attitudes of teachers themselves, but also at pupils' perspectives as well as at certain features of the organisation of Torville school and to examine the relationship of these to each other. I would suggest that such a course would be necessary whether or not sex-class had emerged as an important element in teachers' typifications of pupils and is a requirement for understanding the question with which I set out - how much does sex-class matter in school? For the present I shall describe how the analysis of teachers' perceptions of the sexes through their comments on school reports is related to my separate observations concerning the importance of sex-class in teachers' understandings about their pupils. Pupils' perspectives are discussed in the following chapters, while school organisation and its implications for pupils' sex-role learning are discussed in chapter 9.

I initially gained the impression, from teachers' spontaneous typifications that a pupil's sex-class was important to them, certainly more so than analysis of school reports later suggested. This impression was gained in various ways. When discussing pupils among themselves, when they did not quote a pupil's name (which itself usually gives a clue in this respect) teachers would routinely mention his/her sex-class. Thus conversations starting "There's a boy in set X ... " or "I caught a girl

doing Y" were legion, while comparable ones invoking a pupil's ethnic group or social class were less common and these aspects of a pupil appeared to be referred to where such information was thought to be required for an understanding of what was to follow. Often it would appear to me that it was not relevant what sex the pupil was - the anecdote could have been as easily understood without that information. Thus, in some ways it would appear that teachers were highly conscious of sex-class as an important component of pupils' 'personal front'. A similar inference could have been drawn from the fact that many teachers spontaneously talked to me about this specific topic, sometimes stating that whether a pupil was male or female made a difference to their (the pupil's)attitudes and performance in school, sometimes seeking confirmation or discussion of this issue.

I would argue that the apparent importance attached to a pupil's sex-class needs to be further examined. In the first place the fact that my declared research interest was in sex and gender almost certainly sensitised at least some of the teachers to this aspect of school life. I would interpret the frequency of teachers' approaches to me on this issue as one indicator of their sensitisation, as well as it being indicative of their wish to be polite, helpful, interested in the research and/or generally friendly and welcoming.

Consequently, not too much should be read into the sheer frequency of teachers' comments about pupils' sex-class, at any rate when these comments were specifically directed towards me. Support for this contention comes from the fact that occasionally a teacher would offer to show me pupils' essays, or recount some anecdote with the comment "Have a look (or listen to) this, it might tell you something about girls/boys/the sexes", whereas I never observed such offers between teachers themselves. Independent confirmation that my presence in the school did sensitise

some teachers to their behaviour towards male and female pupils came from three teachers (2 male, one female). Each told me that my presence in their classes had made them aware that certain groups of pupils of one sex (in each case the sex which was in the minority in that particular set) were not contributing very much and that the teachers felt uneasy in case this was because they had not been directing enough attention to the minority sex or had not tried to fully involve them in the lessons.

To suggest that teachers were made aware of sex-class by the fact of my presence or the topic of my research is not to suggest that teachers' interest and concern were fabricated for the occasion, for there was (not surprisingly) considerable evidence that individual teachers had been thinking about the issues before I ever arrived at the school. The careers teacher, for example, had been working for some time to encourage girls to consider a wider variety of jobs on leaving school than hitherto and had arranged work experience opportunities which were available to both sexes. Another had recently completed a Master's thesis examining sex differences in athletic attainment; while some of the essays, exercises and discussions with pupils which teachers shared with me pre-dated my arrival at Torville. There was, in addition, a significant minority of teachers who, unlike those in Ricks and Pyke's (1973) study believed that as teachers they should try to foster sex-role changes in the pupils. To be more specific, conceptualising this as 'the woman problem', they were concerned by what they saw as the lower academic aspirations of girls in the senior part of the school and the girls' almost exclusive concentration on traditionally 'female' occupations for when they left school. That boys similarly aspired to 'sex-appropriate' jobs caused much less comment.

It is important to stress that, at Torville, these concerns remained essentially unco-ordinated, private and the preserve of individual teachers.

There was no evidence of any collective attempt to address the phenomenon and in this sense sex-class had a somewhat different place in teachers' hierarchy of importance from ethnicity. Some attempts were being made to provide activities for pupils and to set up a discourse between teachers which were aimed at enhancing the status, achievement and self-image of ethnic minority pupils, as was described in an earlier part of this chapter. In relation to sex and gender it was almost certainly the case that individual teachers were ' ... often daunted by the sense that family and cultural influences are totally insurmountable' as a teacher in another British secondary school has put it (Smith 1974c, p.141).

Another reason why teachers talked so frequently about discriminating between pupils in terms of their sex-class is, I would argue, that discrimination between the sexes is considered more respectable (or at any rate more inevitable and therefore less personally reprehensible) than discrimination based on certain other pupil characteristics. If this is granted, the fact that only two teachers (a male science teacher and a female who taught history) expressed a preference for teaching a particular sex is noteworthy. In both cases they preferred to teach boys, because whatever difficulties they might pose for teachers boys were 'really' more serious about 'getting on' than girls.

Drawing these observations together, it seems possible to infer that there was little evidence of different attitudes towards female and male pupils among those teachers who taught students in Band U. Teachers believed that the sexes differed, but they did not so clearly 'expect' these differences that they assessed male and female pupils by radically different yardsticks. Nor, despite actively looking for it during my observation and participation in lessons, could I find any evidence that teachers so much 'expected' the sexes to differ that they specifically aimed to socialise students into gender appropriate behaviour. My initial

preconceptions and early impressions during fieldwork underwent considerable modification as a result of classroom observation of teachers and of reflection upon the apparent lack of 'fit' between the frequency with which pupils' sex-class was mentioned outside the classroom and teachers' actual use of sex-class within it. Trends discerned from the analysis of teachers' perceptions, based on school report material, are not substantially at variance with the view to which I came as a result of my reflections during fieldwork - that, quite apart from the issue of teachers being sensitised to sex-class because of the presence of a researcher interested in this area, the frequency of teachers' comments among themselves about the sexes is not a good indicator of their actual assessment of girls and boys as pupils. Teachers themselves admitted to distinguishing between the sexes more readily than they actually appear to do.

A number of explanations is possible for the finding that teachers at Torville did not evaluate girls and boys significantly differently. One of these has already been considered and rejected - that they value the sexes equally, but perceive them differently, using a different standard by which to assess males and females. A second interpretation might be that the techniques used were too gross to pick up the subtleties of discrimination - in their defence it should be said that they were sufficiently sensitive to uncover systematic differences in teachers' perception of students from different social classes and of different ethnic origins, differences which were substantially in line with much previous work in those areas. Since they failed to disclose similar discrimination between the sexes it can be concluded either that no such discrimination existed or that it took considerably more subtle forms than that based on social class and ethnicity. Evidence of various kinds has been adduced in support of the view that little obvious discrimination existed in teachers' classroom behaviour towards the sexes, which view was also put forward by a number

of other researchers who have concerned themselves with this aspect of school life. My evidence is not sufficiently rigorous to be able to completely dismiss the idea that teachers' attitudes and behaviour to pupils are structured by preconceptions about differences between males and females or about appropriate gender behaviour. Nevertheless, other interpretations will be sought in terms of pupils' attitudes and behaviour. Mindful of that body of previous research which suggests that teachers are reactive to pupils' behaviour, rather than vice versa, the following chapters will attempt to describe pupils' perspectives. If it is the case that no differences can be discerned in teachers' evaluations of pupils according to pupils' sex-roles, it may be that this is caused by the fact that, in their classroom behaviour and/or achievement, pupils of the two sexes do not significantly differ from each other. Other interpretations, relating to the particularities of the sample of students studied and organisational features of Torville school itself will also be considered in the chapters which follow. Before doing so I shall briefly summarise the main trends from the present study which have been described in this chapter.

Using material from school reports and observational data teachers' perceptions of students categorised into social class, ethnic group and sex-class have been analysed. By employing constant comparisons between these three pupil 'characteristics' it is possible to discern their relative salience and their apparent utility to teachers in making distinctions between pupils. The relationship between teachers' expressed attitudes, classroom behaviour and assessment of these categories of pupil is not entirely straightforward. Teachers' conscious use of ethnicity as a meaningful category for differentiating between pupils was matched by their differential perception of white British, Asian and West Indian students as pupils. Social class, though a salient concept to many

teachers, was not used by them to consciously discriminate between pupils, and yet systematic differences emerged which suggested a more favourable view of non-manual than of manual pupils. Sex-class, while apparently highly salient to teachers, did not in practice emerge as nearly as important a means of discriminating between students qua pupils as teachers themselves would have thought. Observational material tended to confirm the lack of differentiation of teachers' treatment of the sexes. What little evidence there was pointed to a higher evaluation of the male, while the school report material indicated the reverse.

As indicated in chapter 1, to understand sex-class and gender in school, it is manifestly important to look at more than teachers' attitudes, preconceptions and expectations of female and male pupils. The remaining chapters will continue to examine sex-class and gender, but from different vantage points.

Notes

1. A consideration of the, by now, vast literature on differences in I.Q., cognitive abilities, etc., between boys and girls; middle- and working-class; and white and black, is outside the scope of the present research. These aspects are well covered by numerous other writers (Campaign on Racism, undated; Colman, 1977; Fairweather, 1976; Kamin, 1977; Kipnis, 1976; McGuiness, 1976; Maccoby, 1966; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1975; Saraga and Griffiths, 1977).

2. Students gave details of parental job(s) on a questionnaire administered during the fieldwork. Information about this was included on students' records in the school. Information from questionnaires was checked against that contained in school records. There were a few discrepancies, mostly attributable to school records not being updated regularly, but these differences were not sufficient to suggest that questionnaire answers gave a significantly different picture. Full details of students' social class are given in Appendix IV.

3. This more detailed information is set out in Tables 4,5 and 6 of Appendix V, 'Analysis of School Reports'.

4. There is a shortfall of 17 students, made up of those students neither of whose parents was normally employed (because of retirement, permanent illness or family commitments); those who gave insufficient information about parental job(s) for accurate classification; and those who did not fill in a questionnaire. These unclassified students were divided among the pupil types as follows: Good = 8, Bad = 4, Unobtrusive = 5.

5. Hartman and Husband (1974) argue compellingly that the English language is replete with connotative overtones which equate black with bad, and white with good; and that white racism is inherent in British society. Husband takes up these issues in relation to education in a separate paper (Husband, 1974).

6. Because of the undoubted and continuing discrimination against black ethnic minorities in many areas of their life (Smith, 1974a; 1974b) skin colour may be a reasonably accurate predictor of social class, but this is not the process referred to here.

7. This effect, for both positive and negative comments, was statistically significant in four separate analyses of variance; in the first the variables were student's sex and ethnicity (negative comments, $F = 10.321$ (2,116df), significant at .01; positive comments, $F = 7.374$ (2,116 df) significant at .01); secondly, student's sex, ethnicity and social class, defined in terms of the father's occupation, were compared, yielding the following value for an ethnic effect - negative comments $F = 4.684$ (2,93 df), significant at .05, and positive comments $F = 4.726$ (2,93 df) significant at .05. Thirdly, a similar analysis in which social class was defined in terms of the higher ranked occupation of one of the student's parents, produced a significant ethnic effect for negative comments ($F = 6.701$ (2,93 df) significant at .01), and for positive comments ($F = 5.77$, (2,93 df) significant at .01). Fourthly, a similar analysis in which social class was defined in terms of the lower ranked occupation of one of the student's parents yielded a significant ethnic effect for negative comments ($F = 5.65$ (2,93 df), significant at .01) and for positive comments ($F = 5.496$ (2,93 df), significant at .01).

These data are set out in more detail in Tables 4, 5 and 6, of Appendix V, Analysis of School Reports.

8. The 3 Asian pupils each received 2 negative comments: 2 of the West Indians received 3 and one 4 negative comments.

9. When allocation to secondary school depended on an examination taken during the final year of primary education, boys' scores were weighted to take account of their generally poorer attainment at this age. Without such weighting a larger proportion of girls than boys would have been eligible for grammar school places (Dale 1975; Wolpe 1977). This suggests that rather more girls than boys of above average attainment at age 11 attended secondary modern schools. The girls' subsequent educational achievement tended to be poorer than the boys', which indicates the extent to which girls' performance drops during the period of secondary schooling.

10. The assumption of different spheres for males and females is by no means confined, in the education system, to schools. A recent advertisement for a vacant post at University College, Cardiff, read as follows: 'Applications are invited for the post of Lecturer in the Education of Women and Girls, with special reference to the developing countries, in the Department of Education.' (THES, 23 June 1978). No other information other than where and to whom to apply accompanied the advertisement. When further details were obtained it was immediately revealed that 'education' for women and girls meant Home Economics.

11. Chapter 9 analyses the extent to which, in their choice of school subjects, students at Torville could be seen as having internalised the message that some subjects were more appropriate for one sex.

12. These beliefs on the part of teachers are borne out by Dale's (1969) survey of fifteen year old pupils in British co-educational schools. Almost two thirds did not express a preference regarding the sex of teachers. Of the 203 (36%) who did, 160 (28.6% of all pupils, but 79% of those with a preference) opted for male teachers and only 43 (7.7%) of all pupils and 21% of those expressing a preference) said that they preferred female teachers. See Dale (1969), page 97. The ways in which pupils discriminate between teachers is discussed in Chapter 10 of this thesis.

13. See Dale (1969) pages 42-3, 49, and 260-3.

14. More male than female pupils at the elementary school level in America are referred to school psychologists and clinics for such problems as learning disabilities, but notably for disruptive behaviour (Bentzen 1963).

15. In 1975 there were 214,374 teachers in secondary schools in England and Wales of whom 121,263 (57%) were male and 93,111 (43%) female (DES 1977, p.46-7, Table 26(ii)).

16. In 1975 81.5% of heads of secondary schools in England and Wales were male (DES 1977, p.46-7, Table 26(ii)).

17. See Delamont (1976a) p.102-3. Delamont's research interest was to explore differences among teachers and for that reason she selected a school where differences between pupils were minimal.

18. At the outset I conceived of the project as a study of adolescents' conceptions of gender, to be studied in a research location whose effects on the development of their gender identities was well-understood and would therefore require no more than straightforward observation to replicate. For this reason I had not thought it essential to formally interview teaching staff concerning their attitudes towards sex-roles and male and female pupils. At first I assumed that my inability to see differences in teachers' treatment of girls and boys was due to perceptual insensitivity. (This problem is discussed by Bullivant 1977). By the time alternative interpretations suggested themselves - that there really were no differences or that such differences did exist but would require very sensitive measuring instruments to demonstrate - I was well into the first half-term's work. As already indicated (chapter 2), it was as a study of pupils and specifically not of teachers that access to Torville school was negotiated. To have radically changed direction in order to investigate teachers' attitudes and behaviour by systematic observation and interview would have meant new negotiations with the L.E.A. and all those concerned in the School; a process which would almost certainly have so sensitised everybody to their behaviour towards the sexes as to make suspect any information subsequently obtained. On the other hand, the present undirected approach does allow some estimate of the general salience of sex-class(as compared with ethnicity and social class) in teachers' more spontaneous typifications of their pupils, as well as giving some indication of to whom it was important.

19. For example, calling the teacher over to show him something in a magazine, recounting some happening from earlier in the day, asking about an extra-curricular activity organised by the teacher, asking the teacher to arbitrate in a disagreement between pupils where the argument was not obviously to do with maths.

20. It is possible, for example, that though teachers did differ in their treatment of girls and boys, pupils did not remark on it, not considering it a contentious issue because of their own expectations that the sexes merit different treatment. In this case the interview material should be read as indicating that pupils did not perceive teachers as unjustly or inappropriately discriminating between the sexes. Similarly, because of pupils' expectations that the sexes differ, differences between male and female teacher behaviour might have gone unremarked because they were in accord with 'appropriate' behaviour for their particular sex.

Chapter 8

Dimensions of Sex Among Pupils: Classroom Behaviour, Academic Aspirations and Examination Performance

An examination of Band U students' school reports disclosed no significant differences in teachers' perceptions of male and female pupils and analysis of notes made during lessons and of teachers' discussions in the staffroom revealed no substantial evidence of teacher bias toward or against either of the sexes. In the light of the conclusion drawn by other researchers that where teachers differentiate their behaviour towards pupils it is in response to perceived (and actual) differences in behaviour on the part of pupils, it might be thought that it could be safely inferred that there were no differences in behaviour as between boys and girls. Such a conclusion would not only be premature, but if substantiated, would be in startling contrast to other research findings. As will be shown in this chapter there were sufficient differences among the pupils in terms of classroom behaviour, academic aspirations and examination performance that it is exceedingly unlikely that teachers' lack of differentiation between female and male pupils can be explained in terms of a lack of actual differences among the pupils.

The previous chapter has indicated certain differences in teachers' perceptions of students in different ethnic groups and from different social class backgrounds. In order to place the discussion of differences between male and female pupils into as full a perspective as possible it would be desirable to continue the analysis of students' 'pupil characteristics' with a constant comparison between social class, sex-class and ethnicity. As the previous chapter demonstrated, such comparisons are necessarily lengthy and in the remaining chapters I have confined myself to analysing trends for the sex-classes in comparison only with those for ethnicity. This decision is not meant to underestimate the importance of pupils' social class, but

was made for the reason (rehearsed in chapter 7) that, of the two, students' ethnicity has been even less well-researched than social class by researchers concerned with the status and location of students in schools.

Classroom Behaviour

Various forms of pupil behaviour were systematically observed for varying periods of time, to try to understand in what ways, if any, male and female pupils differed within the classroom. I shall give just two examples to illustrate differences between the sexes in this respect. One of these, pupil initiated-contacts with teachers, has been touched on in the previous chapter. The overall frequency of pupil initiatives did not vary much as between girls and boys, nor did the frequency of different types of contact sought by boys and girls - with the exception of Maths lessons, as was discussed in chapter 7. However, girls did appear to differ from boys in one respect, that when they were seeking the teacher's attention they were more noisy and persistent, while boys were more inclined to make one effort which, if ignored, they did not actively pursue. Typically, girls would call loudly from their seats (not always having first tried to attract the teacher's attention by raising their hand). If this did not work, it was by no means uncommon for girls to leave their desk, take their query or request to the teacher and if necessary to follow the teacher about the room until s/he took notice. This behaviour was observed among girls from all ethnic groups. On the other hand, boys more commonly tried to attract the teacher's attention by raising their hand and simultaneously calling out, usually in a considerably lower volume than that used by girls. If this failed to attract the teacher's notice there would be no active follow-up, with boys either returning to their work or, more frequently, abandoning their work altogether. The former reaction was more typical of Asian and some white British boys, while the latter was most frequent among West Indian

and a different group of white British boys.

These trends were particularly noticeable in lessons where pupils were set to work on their own while the teacher moved about the classroom, less noticeable in lessons where the teacher was stationary addressing the whole class or attempting to involve all pupils in a discussion or question and answer session. Lessons of both sorts occurred in all subjects and thus the behaviour of males and females described was not confined to specific school subjects nor to particular teachers. Such differences between the sexes were observed in a proportion of lessons in a wide variety of subjects, although where girls were in a particularly small minority (as in one set containing 3 girls and 22 boys) the girls tended to huddle together drawing no attention to themselves whatsoever. The differentiated approach to initiating contacts with teachers was also noted in certain subjects taught exclusively to one of the sexes (such as Woodwork of Cookery) where there was no question of the sexes competing with each other for the teacher's time.

When I asked teachers what they thought about students (sex-class unspecified) actively seeking attention in this way their reaction was more favourable than might have been expected. Very few interpreted it as pestering or evidence of over-fussiness on the part of students. The majority view was that it was an understandable lack of patience, because teachers could not share their time equitably among all students, nor could they always pinpoint those who wanted attention. Some, with conscious cynicism, said that at least it showed some pupils were awake and interested enough to be engaged in the lesson. This interpretation of pupils' behaviour is particularly interesting since, as an observer with benefit of overhearing pupils' comments, I was able to see that in some instances the distraction of other pupils and the near disruption of the class which could accompany girls' seeking attention from the teacher in this way, was the prime motive

of the behaviour[1]. This suggests that deliberately disruptive tactics differed as between the boys and girls, with those of the boys being more transparent. For this, among other reasons, boys' disruptive behaviour brought a quicker response from the teachers than did girls'[2].

These differences in behaviour made sense in terms of pupils' understandings about differential treatment of the sexes inside the classroom. Some girls articulated the belief that teachers were inclined to ignore them in class in favour of concentrating on the boys, a view with which some boys concurred. It may be that the boys who continued to work despite their initiative being ignored by the teacher 'knew' that they would not have to wait long until the teacher routinely attended to them and so they need not pursue the point. In a curious way the behaviour of the boys who abandoned work when their initiative was ignored would also confirm an interpretation of pupil behaviour in terms of pupils' understandings. Their comments suggested that they thought they had a right to the teacher's immediate attention, which if not forthcoming was evidence of discrimination and of a teacher's failure to keep to an unwritten bargain; in such circumstances they (pupils) were released from their side of the bargain, which was to work or 'at least try'.

From the girls' point of view it was necessary to actively pursue a teacher for his/her attention and thus their behaviour can be seen as an attempt to gain a measure of control in one aspect of their classroom lives in which they believed they would otherwise be more poorly treated than boys. While I have been able to produce very little evidence of such systematic bias on the part of their teachers this does not mean that the pupils' beliefs were entirely unfounded. It could be that such differentiation occurred earlier in their school careers (at primary and/or secondary school) so that they had come not only to expect to encounter differences in treatment but also to adopt appropriate strategies to

compensate for these expected inequalities in the classroom. Such differences in treatment during their fifth year at Torville cannot be safely ruled out, either, since they may well have existed, but in too hidden or sophisticated a form for me to be able to pick them up with the use of relatively crude methods of observation.

One further example of differences in classroom behaviour will be given. During the period of lesson observation I sometimes made a note of the activities engaged in by pupils; that is, activities other than those in which they were supposed to be engaged. This is, perhaps, a relatively trivial aspect of classroom behaviour, although it is certainly one which may be very noticeable to teachers, and one to which teachers responded differently - some teachers were particularly tolerant of these extraneous activities, others ignored anything provided it was quiet and did not interfere with other students, while a few would tolerate very little in the way of 'irrelevant' activity. Teachers were not always consistent in this, becoming more readily irritated in some lessons than in others. Thus activities (other than those which might be regarded as relevant or legitimate to the work in hand) were subject to differing degrees of supervision by teachers. In that they might be noticed and censured such activities always had an element of the forbidden and carried with them the potential for clashes between teacher and pupil even when that potential was not realised. The following is a typical list of the range of activities observed in one French lesson; the class was somewhat depleted by a geography field trip and there were equal numbers of boys and girls remaining: reading magazines, bouncing tennis ball on desk, trickling tennis ball round desk with elbow, beating tennis ball with pencil or ruler to make it jump into own or other's lap, talking to other pupils, deliberately scraping desk legs on the floor, rocking chair back and forth, lounging on desk, eating sweets, staring into space, throwing screwed

up paper at other pupils (boys' activities); talking to other pupils, hitting another pupil to attract her attention, fiddling with necklace, rattling bracelet or keys as though a castanet (girls' activities)(September 1975). This listing suggests that boys exhibited a wider range of such activities in this particular lesson than did girls. This was not always the case, although where their range was smaller the frequency with which boys engaged in each activity was usually higher so that altogether boys engaged in a larger number of activities per lesson than girls. The following is extracted from a different lesson, this time a double period of Biology, containing more girls than boys. The lesson took place in a science laboratory. The observations were made in February 1976. Those activities occurring once are marked with an asterisk, while those which are unmarked occurred at least twice and in some cases continued throughout the course of the lesson:

Girls' activities: writing on a bench*, doodling*, eating sweets*, reading magazines*, fiddling with own earring*, adjusting someone else's earring*, crawling under bench to investigate real or imagined gas leak*, throwing a pen to another pupil*, plaiting own hair*, adopting 'silly German' voice*, pinching boy's bottom*, combing own hair*, raising empty stool with foot*, calling across room to attract the researcher's attention*, talking about clothes, doing written work for another subject, singing/humming.

Boys' activities: imitating teacher's intonation*, counting coins and making them rattle*, whistling*, screwing clamp to trouser bottom*, slapping, grabbing, pushing and elbowing other pupils, tapping bench with pen, tapping book with pen, slapping bench with hands, staring and winking at another pupil, fiddling with gas and electricity outlets on the bench.

Pupils believed that their behaviour would be more closely monitored when a teacher was addressing the whole class than when they were being left to work on their own. This, did in practice seem to be the case, for no

more mysterious reason than that when a teacher is talking to all pupils s/he has more opportunity and need to scan the whole group, so that 'irrelevant' activities become all the more visible, while obvious activity of any type may be seen as particularly inappropriate. I examined the possibility that one sex more than the other might engage in 'irrelevant' activities in the more covert and overt circumstances described. This did not seem to be the case. I also examined my lesson observation notes to check whether one sex more than the other was censured for their classroom behaviour; boys as a group, did receive more of such teacher attention, which can be attributed to the fact that they more frequently took part in activities which teachers disapproved of - both the relatively innocuous types of behaviour mentioned in this section and the more gross and unequivocally 'anti-social' such as the punching, dead-arming or kicking of other pupils.

These two brief examples of differences between girls and boys in the classroom are by no means an exhaustive list of the ways in which sex-differentiation among students could be observed at Torville. They have illustrated what other writers have pointed out (Good et al, 1973; Serbin et al, 1973) that lack of bias towards one of the sexes on the part of teachers does not necessarily imply a total lack of differentiation in their behaviour towards females and males. Insofar as the sexes differ in their behaviour teachers will encounter any particular type of behaviour more frequently in one sex, so that even where they deal with the behaviour in the same way, irrespective of the sex-class of the person so behaving, their reaction will impinge on one sex more than the other. The examples cited here of differential pupil behaviour have not been ones in which there was an absolute divide between the sex-classes - both boys and girls would try to obtain the teacher's attention (albeit in somewhat different ways) and both sexes would engage in 'irrelevant' classroom activities (though with somewhat varying frequencies and slightly different activities).

Before discussion of students' classroom behaviour is left behind, it is probably worth reporting that there was one means of relating to teachers which did occur exclusively among one sex-class. Only among girls did I observe the technique of flirtation with members of staff. It was noticed in a minority of girls, for whom it was not the typical means of communicating with teachers, but used selectively. I came across no instances of girls being seriously attracted to a male teacher and would interpret their flirtatiousness in a different light. The fact that when she chose to use this form of relating to a teacher, a girl would 'lay it on thick', exaggerating the winning tone and fluttering of eye lashes suggested that its use was both conscious and comic in intention. Wolpe (1977) suggests that pupils' sexuality is an ignored dimension in discussions of pupil-teacher interaction, which she attributes to the researcher's adoption of teachers' perspectives which she typifies as a denial to themselves of the existence of pupils' sexuality and of its importance to pupils. This dimension to teacher-pupil interaction at Torville, among fifth year students and their teachers was not totally absent, but its meaning to pupils was perhaps different from that proposed by Wolpe. Internal evidence suggests that the pupils with whom she worked were younger than those in the present study. Girls in the fifth year at Torville expressed surprise that anyone would think they 'really fancied' a teacher and seriously doubted that teachers would interpret their behaviour in this way. While being aware of and interested in their own sexuality students of both sexes in the fifth year considered it somewhat unsophisticated to look for a partner within school - the girls even more so than the boys - and teachers did not seem to be objects of their affection or fantasy in this regard. It is probably not surprising, but nevertheless bears reporting that flirtatious behaviour towards teachers was noticeably absent from the boys' repertoire of serious or comic behaviour.

This section has given a very brief and selective indication of differences between female and male students' behaviour as observed during the period of fieldwork. Teachers could be expected to have noted these differences as they did not require special techniques or excessive concentration on these dimensions to the exclusion of other aspects of classroom activity to be noticed. However students present other sides of themselves to teachers who thus come to 'know' additional information about pupils. One important dimension to teachers' knowledge about pupils and to pupils' knowledge about themselves and fellow students concerns pupils' aspirations and performance at school. The following section discusses differences in academic aspirations, as measured by the number and type of examinations students indicated that they would hope to be taking. The following section concerns students' academic performance in public examinations.

Academic Aspirations

Students in Band U would take a variety of public exams towards the end of their fifth year at Torville. Very few considered them unimportant or declared themselves uninterested in the number they would be taking and unconcerned about their results. Many expressed a general belief (or perhaps more accurately took such a belief for granted) that examination success would be useful, even if not vital later in life. This view was common among those who were committed to further education whether at school or college. For those who were uncertain about their immediate future plans, their success or failure in the exams they would be taking in the summer, would be used to help them clarify their plans; some said that if they were able to obtain good marks they would definitely leave school at the end of their fifth year, while others indicated that good marks in their summer exams would mean that they might be able to consider

staying at school beyond the fifth year. In short, students were both conscious of exams and appeared to be interpreting them in the light of their understanding of their marketable value. At the time when I asked students to indicate the number and type of exams they hoped to be taking that year[3] decisions had not yet been finalised. Such decisions were taken after students had taken a school exam (which they referred to as 'mocks') during the Spring term: their performance in this together with the standard of their school work in the preceding months provided the basis for decisions as to the number and type (i.e. CSE or O level) of exams for which they would be entered. Students' answers to my question about the exams they hoped to be taking can therefore be best understood as statements of their academic aspirations.

Of the 112 white British, Asian and West Indian students who completed a questionnaire, all but one gave an estimate of their aspirations in this area. These ranged from nine to none, with the mean between 6 and 7; 81% of all students expected to take 6 or more exams, and 60% to take 7 or more[7]. Students have been divided (using a median split) into High and Low aspirers: High aspirers hoped to take 7 or more exams while those wishing to take 6 or fewer have been defined as Low aspirers[4]. It is important to remember that such a classification is not absolute and should be understood in terms of the hopes of Band U students only - the term Low is relative to the aspirations of the group as a whole. In other schools or perhaps among Band L at Torville, students wishing to take 6 exams would be defined as High aspirers. Table 1 sets out this information for the various groups relevant to the present research.

There were striking differences between the sexes in level of aspiration with girls as a group having significantly higher aspirations than the boys. Both white British and West Indian girls hoped to take a larger number of examinations than their male peers and West Indian girls

Table 1 Students with high and low aspirations concerning examinations, by students' sex and ethnicity

	High	Low	Total
White British boys	16	21	37
White British girls	19	8	27
West Indian boys	3	8	11
West Indian girls	8	0	8
Asian boys	15	3	18
Asian girls	6	4	10
Total	67	44	111

X^2 values

White British boys vs. girls: 4.634, 1 df, significant at .05.
West Indian boys vs. girls: 7.286*, 1 df, significant at .01.
Asian boys vs. girls: 0.827*, 1 df, not significant.
White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: 2.573*, 2 df, not significant.
Girls vs. Boys: 5.325, 1 df, significant at .05.
Girls: White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: 2.121*, 2 df, not significant.
Boys: White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: 8.497*, 2 df, significant at .02.

* X^2 value corrected.

are particularly noticeable for their high level of aspiration in comparison with West Indian boys. Between them the 8 West Indian girls hoped to take 63 exams, a mean of 7.9, with a range of 7 to 9. In contrast, the 11 West Indian boys hoped to attempt 66 exams, a mean of 6, with a range of 4 to 7. The most highly aspiring West Indian boy aspired to the same number of exams as the least highly aspiring West Indian girls. There were no significant differences between girls from the three ethnic groups, indicating that high levels of academic aspiration were not the prerogative of any particular group. Asian boys also had particularly high aspirations, so that they were significantly different from their white British and West Indian peers in this respect. There was no significant difference in the proportions of male and female students from an Asian background who had high aspirations and in this respect they differed from the white

British and West Indian students.

A large proportion of all girls thus seemed to be aiming high academically, as did Asian boys. A high proportion of boys from the white British and West Indian groups, in contrast, did not appear to have particularly high academic aspirations, at least in comparison with students in Band U as a whole.

Students themselves drew distinctions between the value of different types of exam. Where it was possible to take either an O level or a CSE in a particular subject, the former would be preferred, although students knew that a CSE grade 1 was regarded as equivalent to an O level pass. For this reason it is important to look at students' academic aspirations not only in terms of the absolute number of exams they hoped to take, but also the type of exam they wanted to attempt. Students varied in the number of O levels they hoped to take: this ranged from none to nine with a mean between 3 and 4. The mean for CSEs was also between 3 and 4, with a range of eight to none[5]. It is possible to further sub-divide the High and Low aspirers according to the type of exam they were aiming at; thus those hoping to take a large number of exams could be hoping to take a large number of CSEs or of O levels; similarly, among those who were hoping to take relatively few there would be some hoping to take mainly O levels and others aspiring only to CSE. The mean number of O levels aspired to was 3.225 for the whole group, i.e. between 3 and 4. Fifty seven percent of all students hoped to take 3 or more, and 44% hoped to take 4 or more O levels[8]. Students were accordingly divided, by means of a median split into those hoping to take more than the average and those aspiring to fewer than the average numbers of O level[6]. As Table 2 shows, of the 67 students already defined as High aspirers 46 (69% of High aspirers, 41% of all students about whom these calculations can be made) were aiming to take 4 or more O levels, while 21 (31% of High aspirers, 19% of the whole

Table 2 High and low aspirations for O level of high and low aspirers, all students

		Overall academic aspirations		
		High (7 or more)	Low (6 or fewer)	Total
O level aspirations	High (4 or more)	46 (94%) (69%)	3 (6%) (7%)	49 (100%) (44%)
	Low (3 or fewer)	21 (34%) (31%)	41 (66%) (93%)	62 (100%) (56%)
	Total	67 (60%) (100%)	44 (40%) (100%)	111 (100%) (100%)

X^2 = 41.186, 1 df, significant at .01.

sample) were hoping to take 3 or fewer. Among those already defined as Low aspirers in terms of overall number of exams aspired to, 41 (93% of Low aspirers and 37% of all students) were aiming to take fewer than average O levels, while only 3 (7% of Low aspirers and 3% of all students) were hoping to attempt 4 or more O levels. This demonstrates that high aspirations (in terms of absolute number of exams to be attempted) were also associated with aspirations for the more highly valued type of exam. Conversely, low aspirations (in terms of absolute number of exams to be attempted) were also associated with the less highly valued type of exam (the CSE). With these distinctions in mind it is instructive to look at the proportion of females and males who aspired to the different types of exam. Table 3 sets out this information, for the sexes and ethnic groups. This confirms that the overall trend (set out in Table 2) for high aspirations to be associated with a wish to take O level rather than CSE, applies to all of the ethnic and sex-class groups, with the exception of West Indian boys. The distribution of High aspirers aiming at relatively few O levels reveals no significant sex or ethnic differences, again with the exception of West Indians. Differences between the sexes are most marked among the very ambitious - High aspirers wanting to take 4 or more

Table 3 O level aspirations of high and low aspirers, by students' sex and ethnicity

	High Aspirers		Low Aspirers	
	High[$]	Low[+]	High[$]	Low[+]
White British boys (n=37)	11	5	1	20
White British girls (n=27)	13	6	1	7
West Indian boys (n=11)	1	2	0	8
West Indian girls (n=8)	5	3	0	0
Asian boys (n=18)	12	3	1	2
Asian girls (n=10)	4	2	0	4
Total	46	21	3	41

$ Hoped to take 4 or more O levels

+ Hoped to take 3 or fewer O levels

X^2 values (with Low Aspirers combined):

White British boys vs. girls: 3.659, 2 df, not significant.
West Indian boys vs. girls: 7.011, 2 df, significant at .05.
Asian boys vs. girls: 1.023, 2 df, not significant.
White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: 3.514, 4 df, not significant.
Girls vs. Boys: 4.199, 2 df, not significant.
Girls: White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: 1.796, 4 df, not significant.
Boys: White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: 9.98, 4 df, significant at .05.

O levels - and among those who were particularly unambitious - Low aspirers wanting to take 3 or fewer O levels. The marked difference between Asian boys and their white British and West Indian peers noted previously and the large difference between West Indian and white British girls and their male peers can be seen to stem from the fact that they not only aspired to take a larger number of exams in general, but also a larger number of O level exams. The most striking difference can be seen among the West Indians; whereas all the girls were High aspirers and second only to Asian boys in the proportion being very ambitious, a majority of the boys did not have high aspirations and even among the few who did only 1 could be seen as very ambitious (i.e. wanting to take more than three O levels).

Table 4 in which students are listed in order of decreasing academic ambition attempts to summarise these trends.

Table 4 Summary of students' examination aspirations, by sex and ethnicity

			Aspirations:		
	% highly ambitious*	% above median for O level	overall $\bar{X}$ Range	O level $\bar{X}$ Range	CSE $\bar{X}$ Range
Asian boys	67	72	7.1 5-9	4.4 0-8	2.6 0-8
West Indian girls	63	63	7.9 7-9	5.3 2-9	2.6 0-5
White British girls	48	52	6.6 3-9	3.8 0-9	2.8 0-7
Asian girls	40	40	6.8 6-8	3.1 0-8	3.7 0-6
White British boys	30	33	6.1 0-9	2.3 0-8	3.8 0-7
West Indian boys	9	9	6.0 4-7	1.5 0-4	4.5 3-6
(Whole sample	41	44	6.6 0-9	3.2 0-9	3.3 0-8

* above the median for total number of exams and for number of O levels.

Confidence In Academic Ability

It is possible that differences between the sexes discussed in the previous section relate as much to differences in propensity to over-estimate ability as to realistic academic aspirations. If a higher proportion of girls than boys, and of Asian than other boys, expressed a desire to attempt a large number of exams altogether and a relatively large number of O level exams in particular, this could simply mean that what is being described are differences in realism about their own ability. When students were asked to estimate their success in exams most believed that they would pass fewer than they attempted, although 37 (34% of those giving an estimate) said they thought they would pass all exams which they would take. Three students (a West Indian boy, 1 white British boy and a West Indian girl), although they gave an indication of the number and type of exam they wanted to take, could not hazard a guess as to how

they would fare in them. Thus of the 111 students giving information about the number of exams they wanted to take, 108 gave an estimate of their chances of success in those exams. The gap between number of exams a student wished to take and the number s/he expected to pass ranged from none to five. The mean number of exams in which students expected to be successful was 5.148, with a range of 0 to 9. Sixty seven percent expected to pass 5 or more and 45% expected to pass 6 or more[9]. Students' expectations are further analysed in Table 5, where students are divided into those who had high expectations of success (i.e. expected to pass 6 or more exams) and those with low expectations (expecting

Table 5 Students with high and low expectations of success in their exams, by students' sex and ethnicity (n=108)

	High Expectations	Low Expectations	Total
White British boys	13	23	36
White British girls	12	15	27
West Indian boys	6	4	10
West Indian girls	4	3	7
Asian boys	9	9	18
Asian girls	5	5	10
Total	49	59	108

X^2 values (corrected)

White British boys vs. girls: <1, 1 df, not significant.

West Indian boys vs. girls: <1, 1 df, not significant.

Asian boys vs. girls: 0, 1 df, not significant.

White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: 1.832, 2 df, not significant.

Girls vs. Boys: <1, 1 df, not significant.

Girls: White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: <1, 2 df, not significant.

Boys: White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: 1.174, 2 df, not significant.

success in 5 or fewer). As can be seen there were no significant differences in the level of expectation between boys and girls generally, between the ethnic groups generally, or between the sexes in any particular ethnic group. Students differed in their expectations of success, but this difference was not associated more with one sex-class than the other nor with any particular ethnic group. This being the case, it is worth examining the High and Low aspirers separately to ascertain whether different expectations of success are associated with these two groups. Initial examination of High and Low aspirers in terms of a single definition of high and low expectations of success (expect to pass 5 or more, compared with 5 or fewer exams) suggested that there was a significant association between expectation of success and level of aspiration[10]. However, a definition of high and low expected success common to both High and Low aspirers obscures the fact that the two groups were aiming at different numbers of exams overall, so that a Low aspirer, aiming to take 5 exams and to pass them all would be counted as having low expectation of success, while a High aspirer aiming at 9 but expecting to pass only 6 would be counted as having high expectation of success. A more sensitive measure takes into account these initial differences and provides a definition of high or low expected success in terms relative to the norms for number of exams to be attempted in the High and Low aspiring groups separately. The mean number of exams which this group expected to pass was 3.9, with 31 (71% Low Aspirers, 28% all who gave an indication of number of exams to be taken) expecting to pass 3 or more exams, and 27 (64% Low Aspirers, 24% of the whole sample) expecting to pass 4 or more[11]. Altogether 18 Low aspiring students (41% Low Aspirers, 16% of the whole sample) expected to pass all the exams which they were to take. Table 6 sets out this information for the Low aspirers. This demonstrates that, relative to the number of exams which they hoped to

Table 6 Expectations of examination success of low aspiring students, by sex and ethnicity (n=42*)

	Number of exams expect to pass		
	4 or more	3 or fewer	Total
White British boys	14	6	20
White British girls	2	6	8
West Indian boys	6	1	7
West Indian girls	n/a	n/a	n/a
Asian boys	2	1	3
Asian girls	3	1	4
Total	27 (64%)	15 (36%)	42

* 2 gave no estimate of number of exams they expected to pass.

X^2 values (corrected)

White British boys vs. girls: 3.064, 1 df, approaching significance at .05.
White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: 2.839, 2 df, not significant.
Girls vs. Boys: 2.491, 1 df, not significant.
Boys: White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: < 1, 2 df, not significant.

take, almost two thirds of Low aspirers had high expectations regarding their examination success. There were no significant differences between girls as a group and boys as a group nor between the ethnic groups in the proportion of students who had high or low expectations concerning their exam success, nor did boys in the three ethnic groups differ significantly in this respect. There was a (non-significant) trend for a larger proportion of white British girls to have low expectations of success than either white British boys or Asian girls.

High aspiring students expected to pass a mean of 5.9 exams. Fifty five (82% all high aspiring students and 50% of all who indicated the number of exams they wished to take) expected to pass 5 or more exams, and 38 (57% High aspirers, 34% of the whole sample) expected to pass 6 or more exams[12]. Nineteen High aspirers (28% of High aspirers, 17% of the whole

sample) expected to pass all the exams which they attempted. High aspiring students were divided into those who had high and low expectations of success for their group, with the former expecting to pass 6 or more and the latter 5 or fewer exams. Table 7 summarises this information and indicates that there is no significant association between level of aspiration and level of exam success expectations for any of the sex-class or ethnic categories.

Table 7 Expectations of examination success of high aspiring students, by sex and ethnicity (n=66*)

	Number of exams expect to pass		
	6 or more	5 or fewer	Total
White British boys	10	6	16
White British girls	12	7	19
West Indian boys	3	0	3
West Indian girls	4	3	7
Asian boys	7	8	15
Asian girls	2	4	6
Total	38 (58%)	28 (42%)	66

* One girl gave no estimate of exam passes.

X^2 values (corrected)

White British boys vs. girls: < 1, 1 df, not significant.
Asian boys vs. girls: < 1, 1 df, not significant.
White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: 1.747, 2 df, not significant.
Girls vs. Boys: < 1, 1 df, not significant.
Girls: White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: < 1, 2 df, not significant.
Boys: White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: < 1, 2 df, not significant.

On the basis of this analysis of students' expectations concerning the number of exams which they expected to pass it is possible to infer that estimates of the number of exams which a student indicated s/he wanted to take were not simply tapping a student's perception of his/her ability. Students who had High aspirations varied in their confidence in

their ability to pass their exams, as did Low aspiring students: the proportion being thus confident was similar in both groups, with 58% of High aspirers and 64% of Low aspirers expecting to pass a relatively large number of exams, and a somewhat higher proportion of Low aspirers expecting to pass all the exams they would attempt (41% as compared with 28% of High aspirers).

A larger proportion of girls than boys and of Asian boys than of others had High aspirations, differences which were statistically significant. Among the Low aspirers there was some indication that a higher proportion of white British girls than of Asian girls and boys as a group had low expectations of success. Although they were less likely than their female counterparts to have High aspirations, those West Indian boys who did so aspire appeared to be more confident in their ability to pass their exams than the West Indian High aspiring girls. On the whole, though, the largest differences between the sexes are to be seen in their level of aspiration rather than in their expectations of success. The following section discusses the students' actual achievement in their O level and CSE exams and provides further information for an understanding of their academic aspirations and expectations in particular and of possible differences in visible behaviour within the school.

Evidence produced in this chapter so far has demonstrated two points: firstly, that the pupil body was not homogeneous; secondly, that sex-class and ethnicity were not the only means by which the pupils could be differentiated. To varying degrees though, these other dimensions (class-room behaviour, academic aspirations and expectations of exam success) differentiated between the sexes and members of the different ethnic groups, but in no instances were any co-terminous with one of the sexes or one of the ethnic groups. For example, while West Indian girls all came into the High aspiring group, High aspirations were by no means the prerogative of

such girls nor were all West Indian boys Low aspirers.

Teachers' Perceptions Of High And Low Aspirers

It has been suggested throughout this thesis that differences between pupils in terms of 'characteristics' which may be fairly obvious and visible to teachers might account for teachers' differential treatment of certain pupils. Yet teachers at Torville did not appear in either their classroom behaviour or their written assessments of pupils to differentiate between pupils solely in terms of students' sex-class or ethnicity, even though there were some consistent differences in teachers' perceptions of these groups. So it was proposed that teachers might be differentiating their behaviour towards pupils in terms of other characteristics, perhaps less visible to an observer, but visible and more salient to teachers, such as students' apparent motivation (aspiration level). Such aspirations were not always consciously shared with teachers or other pupils, but may nevertheless be conveyed in other ways.

To further examine these ideas, teachers' perception of pupils (as demonstrated in their written comments on pupils' school reports) will be related to the differences in pupils' 'characteristics' as described in theearlier part of this chapter. Specifically, students' aspirational level (number of exams to which they aspired) will be related to whether students were perceived as Good, Bad, Conspicuous or Unobtrusive students. If consistent differences between, say, Good and Bad pupils can be discerned in terms of their academic aspirations, this would suggest that teachers were assessing the students in terms of this latter 'pupil characteristic' rather than solely in terms of sex-class or ethnicity.

Table 8 indicates a strong and significant relationship between students' level of aspiration and the way that they were perceived by

Table 8 Teachers' perception of high and low aspirers (all students)

	Good (n=45)	Bad (n=44)	Unobtrusive (n=22)	Conspicuous (n=11)	Total (n=122)
High Aspirers	32	14	10	9	65
Low Aspirers	6	27	8	2	43
Total	38	41	18	11	108

X^2 (corrected) = 20.084, 3 df, significant at .01.

teachers. Almost half the High aspirers were perceived as Good pupils and only 14% of the Low aspirers; conversely nearly two thirds of Low aspirers were seen as Bad pupils, compared with only 22% of High aspirers. Another way of looking at this is to take the proportion of, say, Bad pupils who had High and Low aspirations and to compare them with the Good pupils. This reveals almost as strong an association between aspiration level and teachers' perception of students: 71% of all Good pupils had High aspirations, 61% of all Bad pupils had Low aspirations and a high proportion, 9 out of 11, of Conspicuous pupils (whom I have argued were particularly well-known to teachers) had High aspirations. Unobtrusive pupils were not particularly differentiated in terms of their aspirations. The relationship between teachers' perception of students and students' aspiration level is further analysed to ascertain whether the trends observed for the whole sample apply to both the sexes and all ethnic groups.

Table 9 Teachers' perception of high aspirers, by students' sex and ethnicity

	Good	Bad	Unobtrusive	Conspicuous	Total
White British boys	7	4	3	2	16
White British girls	11	3	3	2	19
West Indian boys	0	2	0	1	3
West Indian girls	2	2	2	2	8
Asian boys	9	2	2	2	15
Asian girls	3	1	0	0	4*
Total	32	14	10	9	65

* Reports missing for 2 girls who therefore cannot be classified into the pupil typology.

Teachers' perception of a high proportion of High aspirers as Good pupils appears to hold for both girls and boys, each of the ethnic groups and for males and females in any particular ethnic group, since there were no significant differences obtained when X^2 tests were applied[13].

Table 10 Teachers' perception of low aspirers, by students' sex and ethnicity

	Good	Bad	Unobtrusive	Conspicuous	Total
White British boys	2	13	5	0	20*
White British girls	0	6	1	1	8
West Indian boys	1	7	0	0	8
West Indian girls	0	0	0	0	0
Asian boys	1	0	1	1	3
Asian girls	2	1	1	0	4
Total	6	27	8	2	43

* School report missing for one boy who therefore could not be classified into the pupil typology.

Teachers' perceptions of Low aspirers are set out in Table 10. Figures are too small to make accurate statistical tests, but consistent trends emerged such that it can be inferred that there were no significant differences between girls and boys or between the three ethnic groups[14]. The inference that a higher proportion of Low aspirers was seen as Bad pupils generally holds for both sexes in the white British group and for the West Indian boys, but Asian pupils with Low aspirations tend nevertheless to be seen as Good pupils; only 1 of the eight Asian Low aspirers was seen as Bad, while 19 white British (68% of white British Low aspirers) and 7 of the eight West Indians were perceived by their teachers as Bad pupils.

It has been possible to uncover a high degree of overlap between teachers' perception of pupils as Good, Bad, Unobtrusive and Conspicuous and the level of students' overall academic aspirations. These relationships, between High aspiration and being seen as a Good pupil and between Low aspiration and being perceived as a Bad pupil was discerned among both the sexes and all three ethnic groups. A higher proportion of girls than boys had High academic aspirations; a somewhat higher proportion of girls than

boys was perceived as Good rather than Bad pupils; among High aspiring students a significantly higher proportion was seen as Good pupils and this applied to both male and female High aspirers. It would appear that teachers' differential perceptions of pupils were based as much on differences between students in level of aspiration as on students' sex-class on its own. The analysis of 'pupil characteristics' continues in the next section where students' actual examination performance will be discussed and related to both students' level of aspiration and teachers' perceptions of students.

Examination Performance

Students' performance in public examinations will not necessarily be totally related to their performance on a day to day basis in school. Some pupils surprise their teachers (and sometimes themselves) in obtaining more passes or passes at better grades than was expected. Equally, other students fail to meet the high expectations which they and/or their teachers had entertained. The use of public exam success as an indicator of pupils' general academic achievement has two advantages over alternative indicators based on school work. In the first instance it more readily accords with the students' own priorities concerning public exams and internal tests or exams. They believed the former had more general marketable value than the latter, so that they were more concerned to put their effort into CSE and GCE preparation than to necessarily always doing well within school. Secondly, if it is the case that teachers' prejudices and preconceptions of certain categories of pupil might mediate their perception of those students, it could well be that one way in which this occurs would be in their marking and assessment of students' work within school. To a greater or lesser extent the marking of pupils' GCE and CSE exams is independent of the teachers who know them intimately and can thus be

regarded as a somewhat more objective assessment of the students' attainment in a particular subject.

Students were asked to report the exams which they had taken and the grades they had obtained, approximately 18 months after they would have first attempted CSE and/or O level[15]. Sixty nine of the original 112 replied to this questionnaire, of whom 66 reported their exam successes. It should be borne in mind in the discussion which follows that male students perceived by their teachers as Bad pupils were somewhat less likely to have returned their questionnaire than other types of student[16].

Table 11 Total numbers of examination passes: high and low achievers, by sex and ethnicity (n=66)

	Total Examination Passes (n)		
	High (8 or more)	Low (7 or less)	Total
White British boys	4	15	19
White British girls	9	9	18
West Indian boys	1	4	5
West Indian girls	3	2	5
Asian boys	10	4	14
Asian girls	2	3	5
Total	29	37	66

X^2 values (corrected)

Girls vs. Boys: < 1, 1 df, not significant.
White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: 2.958, 2 df, not significant.
White British boys vs. girls: 2.248, 1 df, not significant.

The mean number of exam passes per student was nearly 7, with 55 (83%) having passed 6 or more and 46 (70%) having been successful in 7 or more exams[17]. Table 11 sets out this information, with students divided into those who had achieved highly relative to the whole group (8 or more passes) and those whose achievement was relatively low (i.e. 7 or fewer). In terms of overall numbers of exams passed there were no

significant differences between the sexes or between members of the different ethnic groups.

Analysis of passes in O level and CSE separately modifies this picture, however, as reference to Tables 12 and 13 will confirm.

Table 12 High and low achievers in O level, by sex and ethnicity (n=66)

	High (4 or more)	Low (3 or fewer)	Total
White British boys	3	16	19
White British girls	9	9	18
West Indian boys	3	2	5
West Indian girls	3	2	5
Asian boys	13	1	14
Asian girls	2	3	5
Total	33	33	66

X^2 values (corrected)

Girls vs. Boys: 0.0, 1 df, not significant.
White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: 9.256, 2 df, significant at .01.
Boys: White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: 16.22, 2 df, significant at .01.
Girls: White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: <1, 2 df, not significant.
White British boys vs. girls: 3.499, 1 df, approaching significance at .05.
Asian boys vs. girls = 3.42, 1 df, approaching significance at .05.

Asians as a group were significantly more likely than either the white British or West Indian students to have achieved a large number (i.e. 4 or more) of O level passes, while white British students were more likely than the other two groups to have achieved relatively few O level passes. Further analysis indicates that this trend was true only for boys and that there were no significant differences between girls from the three ethnic groups. West Indian boys and girls did not differ in their O level successes, while rather more Asian boys than girls, but more white British girls than boys had achieved relatively large numbers of O level passes.

Table 13 indicates that there were no significant differences between white British, Asian and West Indian girls in terms of success at CSE. The

Table 13 High and low achievers in CSE, by sex and ethnicity (n=66)

	High (4 or more)	Low (3 or fewer)	Total
White British boys	14	5	19
White British girls	9	9	18
West Indian boys	0	5	5
West Indian girls	2	4	6
Asian boys	4	10	14
Asian girls	3	2	5
(Total)	32	34	66

X^2 values (corrected)

Girls vs. Boys: <1, 1 df, not significant.
White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: 5.075, 2 df, approaching significance at .05.
Boys: White British vs. West Indians vs. Asian: 8.376, 2 df, significant at .02.
White British boys vs. girls: 1.313, 1 df, not significant.

most significant trend is that success at CSE (defined as passes in 4 or more exams) was associated with white British students and specifically with the boys in this group. Total number of exam passes is only one indicator of students' exam performance as the grade achieved may also be regarded as important. A numerical value was placed on each O level and CSE pass to enable a comparison of students irrespective of the particular mix of GCE and CSE exams attempted and passed. The scoring runs from 4 to 1 with the higher figure representing a high grade[18]. Table 14 attempts to summarise this information and students are listed according to the mean total score for exam passes for their particular group. This shows that there was a close relationship between the number of exams passed and the grade at which they were passed so that Asian boys as a group not only achieved a large number of exam passes, but obtained, on the average, good passes. In contrast, White British and West Indian boys achieved fewer passes and at a somewhat lower grade than Asians. Table 14 also

Table 14 The 'value' of examination passes (CSE and O level combined) by students' sex and ethnicity

	$\bar{X}$ score per student	$\bar{X}$ score per exam	$\bar{X}$ passes	Total score	Total exams	Students (n)
Asian boys	24.1	3.0	7.9	338	111	14
West Indian girls	20.6	2.7	7.6	103	38	5
White British girls	19.7	2.8	7.1	355	128	18
Asian girls	18.6	3.1	6.0	93	30	5
White British boys	16.4	2.5	6.7	296	120	18
West Indian boys	14.6	2.6	5.6	73	28	5
(Total)	19.3	2.8	7.0	1258	455	65

confirms that girls in the three ethnic groups did not differ so much as the boys, either in terms of number of exams passed or in the grades obtained in them.

Earlier in this chapter students were divided into those having High and Low aspirations. Scrutiny of the number of exam passes obtained by these groups indicates a very strong relationship between original aspiration level and subsequent performance in exams, with the High aspirers obtaining a higher mean number of exam passes than Low aspirers (7.5 compared with 5.2). The mean number of exam passes for the whole sample was about 7.0 and of those who passed 7 or more exams, 39 (87%) were High aspirers and only 6 (13%) were Low aspirers. Put another way 78% of all High aspirers obtained passes above the mean for the whole sample while only half as many Low aspirers (6 out of 15) did so[19]. It was also the case that teachers' perceptions of students were related to students' overall aspiration level, with High aspirers being more likely to be seen as Good and Low aspirers as Bad pupils. Table 15 brings together information concerning students' aspirations, achievement and teachers' perceptions.

Table 15 Teachers' perceptions of high and low aspiring students with different levels of achievement

Boys (n=37)	Good	Bad	Unobtrusive	Conspicuous
High Aspiring, High Achieving	13	2	3	2
High Aspiring, Low Achieving	1	2	2	1
Low Aspiring, High Achieving	2	1	2	0
Low Aspiring, Low Achieving	1	5	0	0
Total	17	10	7	3
Girls (n=26)*				
High Aspiring, High Achieving	11	3	2	2
High Aspiring, Low Achieving	1	2	1	0
Low Aspiring, High Achieving	0	1	0	0
Low Aspiring, Low Achieving	1	2	0	0
Total	13	8	3	2

* One girl not classified into pupil typology.

Eighty percent of the Good pupils were high achieving High aspirers while 7 of the Bad pupils (39%) were low achieving Low aspirers, the single largest group among the Bad pupils. Of the 38 highly achieving High aspirers 24 (63%) were seen as Good pupils and 7 of the 9 low achieving Low aspirers (78%) were seen as Bad. Students with High aspirations, but relatively poor achievement were seen in a poorer light than students who achieved highly despite having Low aspirations. These trends are similar for both the sexes.

Summary

Evidence of rather different kinds, ranging from classroom observation to analysis of questionnaires and material from school reports has been set out in this chapter to illustrate some of the ways in which boys and girls at school differed. It has been shown that in various forms of classroom behaviour of a fairly visible kind there were systematic

differences between the sexes. Analysis of students' academic aspirations, ambitions, expectations of success and eventual examination performance also indicated that in general girls and boys differed, although they did not necessarily demonstrate exactly the same patterns within an ethnic group. Thus, while girls in general were more highly aspiring and successful in their examination attempts than boys as a group, Asian boys were particularly likely to be High aspirers and to achieve passes in a large number of exams. West Indian girls also emerged as particularly successful and Highly aspiring.

It is not possible to make a full comparison of these findings with those of other researchers. British researchers concerned with the description and analysis of specific types of orientation to school (as in Lambart's (1976) 'sisterhood' or Willis' (1977) typology of 'earoles and lads) either concentrate on students from one ethnic group or do not report the ethnic origin of their sample. Similarly, commentators have rarely differentiated between the sexes in their analyses of the academic aspirations and performance of ethnic minority pupils. Two recent researchers who have provided some interesting comparisons with the present findings. Dickinson et al (1975) noted the relative lack of differences between Pakistani girls and boys at primary school on the various measures of academic attainment which they used, although there were some differences of this sort among the indigenous Scots with whom they compared the Pakistani pupils. The same trend can be seen in the present study. Driver (1977), reporting work undertaken in a West Midlands secondary school in the early 70s, notes the large difference in the performance of West Indian girls and boys in CSE exams; while the mean overall score, computed as in the present study, did not differ very much a much higher proportion of girls than boys (74% compared with 23%) obtained some sort of CSE pass, their average grade was considerably

better than that of the boys and better than that of white British pupils of both sexes. The picture is essentially the same at Torville, except that, as pupils took both CSE and O level exams, the trends are most clearly seen in the figures for total number of exams. Driver also noted the high levels of achievement of Asian boys in comparison with all other groups, the somewhat lower achievement of Asian girls in comparison with their male peers, but the high level of achievement of Asians generally in comparison with the white British and West Indian pupils. Table 16 sets out this information for students at Torville and 'West Midlands School'.

Table 16 Comparison of examination performance of Torville and West Midlands school pupils, by students' sex and ethnicity

	West Indian		White British		Asian	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Mean CSE score per candidate						
West Midlands school*	7.6	7.1	12.3	11.6	12.7	6.8
Torville:						
Mean CSE score per candidate	5.2	9.0	11.6	9.2	6.8	11.5
% above the mean	80	60	50	53	38	50
Mean O level score per candidate	14.0	11.6	9.9	14.8	17.8	15.7
% above the mean	33	60	27	57	64	33
Mean score (all exams) per candidate	14.6	20.6	16.4	19.7	24.1	18.6
% above the mean	60	60	44	56	57	60

* Source: Driver (1977)

These comparisons suggest that the findings from the present research concerning the relative achievement of girls and boys and of students from the three ethnic groups are not peculiar to Torville school. They also underline the need to differentiate between the sexes when analysing the academic aspirations and achievement of pupils whether from the ethnic

majority or ethnic minority groups. Other researchers have differentiated between immigrant and British born (or wholly British educated immigrant) pupils in the ethnic minority groups (see Little 1978 for a recent example) when discussing educational attainment, but it may be as vital to differentiate between the sexes for a full understanding of the position of ethnic minorities in the education process. Numbers in the present study are too small to warrant comparing immigrant and indigenous male and female pupils in each of the two ethnic minorities at Torville, but any future analysis along these lines would provide interesting information on the relative importance of sex-class and immigrant status in academic attainment.

Since students at Torville in Band U were evidently differentiated along a variety of dimensions, it would appear highly unlikely that teachers' lack of differentiation between male and female could be attributed to an essential similarity between female and male pupils. At the time when teachers were making their assessments of pupils on school reports (on which the measure of teachers' perceptions of pupils is based) the students had not yet taken their public exams although they had recently taken 'mocks'. Students' eventual exam performance was closely related to their original aspirations, and teachers' assessments of pupils were closely related to those aspirations. This suggests two interpretations; either that teachers have very clearly translated to students their preconceptions of the abilities of different categories of student (whom they typify as Good, Bad and so on) so that students in each of these categories have learnt to shape their academic aspirations according to the teachers' expectations of them; or alternatively, that teachers do not perceive their students in terms of preconceptions or prejudices about the different motivations of girls and boys or of the ethnic groups, but rather differentiate between students in terms of actual differences

demonstrated by the students. Evidence brought to bear on this issue in the present chapter and that which will be set out in the one following could be used to argue for either of these hypotheses. In practice, the analysis of the situation relates to a relatively short period in what would be a long term process so that a categorical opinion is not feasible.

The following chapter looks at certain features of the organisation of Torville school and at differences in pupils' choice of school subject. It demonstrates that sex differences which can be attributed to the operation of pupils' choices in this area in addition to certain organisational practices within the school create a high degree of sexual segregation among pupils.

Notes

1. Some teachers did find the behaviour irritating, and most of those to whom I talked pointed out its potential for deliberate distraction of the class. In any particular instance interpretation of an individual pupil's motives was not easy for the teacher. As a result of this ambiguity teachers did not automatically interpret such behaviour as subversive in intent.

2. Fighting with other pupils and the noisy use of classroom equipment (kicking, pushing, scraping, and dropping such things as tables, lockers, drawers, and chairs, for example) are both more noticeable and readily interpreted as inappropriate behaviour. Such activities more frequently involved boys, though some instances of girls engaging in them were noted.

3. See question 14 on the In-School questionnaire (Appendix III).

4. Full details are given in Appendix VI.

5. Some students were entered for joint GCE/CSE exams with the AEB. In the relevant year (1976) the AEB offered 8 such exams, including English, English Literature, Maths and French. GCE and CSE Boards co-operated to devise a grading scheme for the 1976 exams whereby the minimum mark for a C grade (O level) was the same as the minimum mark for a Grade 1 (CSE). Exam scripts were marked separately by the GCE and CSE boards, and students subsequently received a grade for both CSE and GCE. I am grateful to Roger Murphy, Research Officer, AEB Research Unit, who made available this information in a personal communication. Where a student expected to be entered for one or more joint exams each subject has been counted once only in the present calculations and treated as an O level aspiration.

6. Refer to Appendix VI for further details of these calculations.

7. See Table 3, Appendix VI.

8. See Table 1, Appendix VI.

9. See Table 7, Appendix VI.

10. Refer to Tables 8 and 9, Appendix VI.

11. See Table 10, Appendix VI.

12. See Table 11, Appendix VI.

13. X^2 values for Table 9 in this chapter may be found in Appendix VI, Table 12.

14. X^2 values for Table 10 in this chapter may be found in Appendix VI, Table 12.

15. See question 2 on the Follow-Up questionnaire, sent to pupils in December 1977 (Appendix III). Students commonly took again exams attempted at the end of their fifth year in order to obtain a better

grade or a pass in an exam which they had failed on the first attempt. Students also attempted new CSE or O levels during their first year in the sixth form. Thus CSE and O level attempts would typically be completed by the end of their sixth rather than their fifth year at school. For this reason number of exams attempted does not always correspond with the number aspired to in the fifth year. By December 1977 students would almost certainly have completed their O level and CSE exams and would know the results of all such exams they were likely to attempt. Some would also have obtained passes in CEE, but these have been ignored in the present calculations. Exams taken more than once have been counted as one exam and the higher grade obtained has been used where grades are reported in this chapter.

16. Full details of calculations for response bias are reported in Appendix III.

17. See Table 13, Appendix VI.

18. Full details of this coding may be found in Appendix VI. Briefly an A or B grade (GCE) counts as 4 while a grade of 5 (CSE) counts for 1.

19. See Table 18, Appendix VI.

Chapter 9

Sexual Differentiation in School Organisation and Pupils' 'Choice'

> 'Within mixed schools societal sex differences are given organisational meaning ... the outcome of this organisational sex-specialisation appears to be to confirm the pupils' sexual identity rather than modify it.' (King 1973, p.159)

The potential part that teachers in general play in gender-role learning of their pupils and the way the particular teachers at Torville mirrored the sexual divisions in other spheres of society have already been discussed in earlier chapters. This chapter aims to discuss school organisation as it directly affected students at Torville and to look at the way that pupils' choice of subjects was grounded in factors related both to school organisation and to values derived from outside school. Sexual differentiation amounted, in some instances, to sexual segregation for variable amounts of time during the school week, and it will be argued that the cumulative effect of organisational aspects of this school, in harness with the operation of pupils' individual choices, is to underline the prevailing societal stereotypes about males and females.

Sexual Differentiation In The Organisation Of Torville School

As would seem to be the case in virtually all mixed schools in Britain (King 1973), Torville was organised around pupils' sex-class, in a way which it was not with regard to either ethnicity or social class. Boys and girls were required to participate in certain aspects of the school's daily routine in accordance with their sex-class. All boys, irrespective of ethnicity and social class, if they wished to use cloakroom, lavatory or changing room, did so separately from girls in facilities designated for boys; they were required to form a separate queue while waiting for entrance to the dining room, and to wear a uniform similar to that worn by other boys; and similarly for girls. School uniform itself took a

form which contrasted girls and boys and which classed together all of one sex, thereby tending to diminish any differences in style of dress which might have stemmed from pupils' social class or ethnic background[1]. Although there were Sikhs attending Torville, only one boy (in the sixth form) wore a turban. All Asian girls, Moslem, Hindu or Sikh complied with school regulations by wearing a skirt and socks/tights rather than either a sari or shalwar-kamiz. Attempts on the part of West Indian boys to wear coloured woolly hats (as a means of asserting their ethnic identity) were officially discouraged, even if teachers varied in their zeal in trying to enforce the rule or in their acceptance of the rule's appropriateness.

In a slightly different vein, not only were Games and P.E. taught separately to girls and boys, but different activities were offered in these lessons to the sexes. The 'welfare' of students, if not actually considered to mean different things for males and females, was nevertheless made the separate responsibility of a male and female teacher respectively. Names of pupils were recorded separately for the sexes on form registers, so that in some forms at least twice a day (at morning and afternoon registration) pupils might be reminded that even in this apparently trivial aspect of school their sex-class appeared to be relevant. Although students would not themselves know this, school records relating to pupils were filed separately for the sexes. Thus, in a number of visible ways the daily routine highlighted a pupil's sex-class. The effect, if not the intention of this routine use of pupils' sex-class to break down the student body into smaller units for ease of organisation and administration would seem to be an underlining of the importance of sex-class to both students and teachers.

Two separate surveys of mixed and single-sex British secondary schools (DES, 1975; King 1973) suggest that a proportion of school subjects is offered exclusively to pupils of one sex. One estimate for comprehensive schools indicates that between two and three subjects are taught only to one of the sexes (King 1973). In this respect Torville differed in that

in principle, all subjects apart from Games and P.E., were equally available to females and males. Students in the present study had exercised a certain amount of choice over the subjects they were studying. The concept of pupils' choice will be returned to later in the chapter, but for the moment it will be treated as relatively unproblematic, constrained by certain organisational considerations only; students may be required to have reached a minimum standard in a particular subject in order to be allowed to continue studying it for CSE/O level, while the availability of teachers for specific subjects may impose restrictions on the number of students who can in practice be offered those subjects .

At the beginning of the fourth year students at Torville elected to specialise in a certain group of subjects - on the basis of which they were placed into one of two Bands and within the Band to a particular Form. With few exceptions they remained in the same Band and Form for the whole of their fourth and fifth years at school. Having elected their subject 'specialism' students were then also allocated to particular Sets for purposes of being taught. This first type of choice, then, determined their location in certain organisational structures and excluded them from others. Certain implications of this are examined later.

In actuality a student's choice of specialism - in the case of Band U it was Languages, Arts, or Sciences - was a choice for a limited package of subjects. I shall refer to these as 'defining' subjects since they are what defines the name of each specialism. In addition to the initial choice of specialism there was room for further choice of two 'forced choice' subjects (so called because students had to choose two from four offered) and one of eight 'optional' subjects, none of which was directly related to major specialism. In all cases students were expected to take the relevant CSE or O level examination at the end of their fifth year.

Students received teaching in the same core of basic subjects up to the end of their third year at the school, and during this time those 'optional' subjects in the 4th and 5th year which had also been available to students in their first three years had been offered to both sexes; girls could opt for Woodwork or boys for Needlework, for example. Thus at the point of making their choice of specialism at the beginning of the fourth year there were no prior or current organisational factors forcing girls and boys into sex-differentiated choices. Despite this, large and significant differences did exist in the location of male and female pupils in the fifth form. These will now be examined.

Effects Of Initial Choice Of Specialism

Allocation to a band

There were slightly more boys than girls in the fifth form as a whole - 140 and 130 respectively. However, what is particularly striking is that girls and boys were not distributed evenly among the two Bands. There were more girls in Band L than in Band U (59% and 41% respectively), while the largest proportion of boys was to be found in Band U (64% compared with 34% in Band L). The Bands were not of equal size, but this pattern still holds true if one takes the percentage of girls in each Band as a proportion of the whole fifth year. This difference in allocation of boys and girls to one of the Bands is statistically significant (see Table 1).

Table 1 Proportion of males and females in:

	Band L	Band U	Total
Girls	77 (29%)	53 (20%)	130 (49%)
Boys	51 (19%)	89 (33%)	140 (52%)
Total	128 (48%)	142 (53%)	270 (101%)

(X^2=14.1, 1 d.f., significant at .01)

As already indicated (chapter 3) Band L was regarded as the 'practical' one, containing pupils of lower achievement/ability while Band U was the 'academic' one, in which pupils were seen as having higher ability/ achievement. The separation of students in this way bears further analysis. It could be that by the end of the third year in school boys had begun to outstrip girls in scholastic achievement, so that there was a larger number of boys 'qualified' to contemplate entering the 'academic' Band. Alternatively, similar proportions of both sexes might have been so qualified, but other considerations entered to encourage more boys and/or to discourage more girls from attempting the academic course. Evidence produced in the previous and following chapters would tend to support the latter interpretation; those girls who were in Band U achieved somewhat more highly in their public examinations than did the boys and were also more ambitious in their job aspirations than their male peers. Many more Band U girls went on to some form of further or higher education than did boys. This suggests that girls in the academic Band were more motivated and successful in academic achievement than were boys in the same Band, but that fewer girls throughout the fifth year as a whole had such relatively high aspirations. Thus some quite able girls, for a variety of reasons, would find themselves in the less academic Band. Conversely, either boys as a group had higher aspirations than girls as a group, or some boys, not especially ambitious and/or able found their way into Band U. In other words this suggests that two different processes may be operating either independently of, or in conjunction with, students' own aspirational level and prior achievement. In the case of boys this might be a greater degree of importance attached to their education and greater pressure on them from parents and teachers (and in some instances peers) to aim as high as possible and attempt the more academic course unless there were compelling reasons not to. The opposite tendency would appear to be operating with

regard to the girls. Whatever the girl's own views might be, if others (parents, teachers, peers) place less emphasis in general on the education of girls and/or do not so clearly encourage them to aim high, girls would be less likely to elect for the academic course unless there were compelling reasons to do so. In short, the distribution of the sexes among the academic and practical Bands in the fifth year at Torville school indicates an inertial bias towards the academic Band for boys and a similar bias towards the less academic/more practical Band for girls, biases which stem from a complex of social pressures, taken-for-granted understandings and so on, which were treated as (and indeed may be experienced as) the expression of individual choice on the part of female and male students.

For administrative ease, pupils were grouped together according to their initial choice of specialism, into a number of forms. Thus, while the school was mixed, many pupils found themselves in a single sex form (4, 72 pupils), or one in which there was a large imbalance between the sexes (4, 111 pupils). Only three forms (involving 87 pupils) approximated the actual sex balance in the fifth year or the relevant Band. This tendency was particularly noticeable in Band L where three of the single-sex forms were to be found, all of them all-female forms for those 'specialising' in commercial subjects (typing, office practice, shorthand). Students in Band L were more likely to be taught in their form group than those in Band U, where the division of students into sets for teaching purposes cut across form boundaries. Thus many students in Band L spent a considerable amount of time in school in a single-sex environment. Despite the use of setting in Band U the situation was, in practice, very little different for those students, as will become clear later in the chapter.

A similar analysis of the spread of students of West Indian, Asian and white British origin discloses that there were some significant differences in the numbers allocated to each of the Bands. There has been considerable discussion about the racist structure and organisation of education in Britain. Part of this debate has concerned the way that Black and/or immigrant children are relegated to the lower streams of school, whether through conscious racist ideology among teachers and educational policy-makers and administrators, or as a result of assuming that specific learning problems (e.g. unfluent Standard English) are reflections of innate/potential ability[2]. In the present study this would show in a higher proportion of Black/immigrant pupils in Band L as compared with Band U. Tables 2 and 3 show the distribution of Asian and West Indian students in the two Bands.

Table 2 Distribution of Asian pupils in Bands U and L

	Band L	Band U	Total
Asian girls (n)	13	11	24
Total girls in Band(s) (n)	77	53	130
Asian girls as % of girls in Band(s)	17%	21%	19%
(X^2 = 0.313, 1 df, not significant)			
Asian boys (n)	11	26[3]	37
Total boys in Band(s) (n)	51	89	140
Asian boys as % of boys in Band(s)	22%	29%	26%
(X^2 = 0.976, 1 df, not significant)			
All Asians in Band(s) (n)	24	37	61
All pupils in Band(s) (n)	128	142	270
Asians as % of all pupils in Band(s)	19%	26%	23%
(X^2 = 2.056, 1 df, not significant)			

Information for Asians in the present study is as follows: Twenty three percent of all 5th year students were Asian (19% of all girls, 26%[3] of all boys), spread throughout Bands L and U more or less in

proportion to their numbers in the fifth year as a whole. If anything they were more likely to be found in the upper than in the lower band (Boys 29% and 22% respectively; Girls 21% and 17% respectively: see Table 2).

Table 3 Distribution of West Indian pupils in Bands U and L

	Band L	Band U	Total
West Indian girls (n)	22	8	30
Total girls in Band(s) (n)	77	53	130
West Indian girls as % of girls in Band(s)	29%	15%	23%
(X^2 = 3.21, 1 df. not significant)			
West Indian boys (n)	16	13	29
Total boys in Band(s) (n)	51	89	140
West Indian boys as % of boys in Band(s)	31%	15%	21%
(X^2 = 5.56, 1 df, significant at .02)			
All West Indians in Band(s) (n)	38	21	59
All pupils in Band(s) (n)	128	142	270
West Indians as % of all pupils in Band(s)	30%	15%	22%
(X^2 = 8.75, 1 df, significant at .01)			

The picture for West Indians is somewhat different[4]. While constituting a similar proportion of the fifth year as Asian students (22% and 23% respectively) West Indian students as a whole were more likely to be in the lower Band than in the upper. In the case of West Indian boys this tendency is statistically significant, but while a larger proportion of the girls was in the lower Band than in the Upper the difference is not statistically significant (see Table 3).

For comparison, information about White British and 'Other' students[5] is presented (see Table 4). This demonstrates that such students were distributed across the Bands more or less in proportion to their numbers in the fifth year as a whole.

Table 4 Distribution of White British and 'Other' students in Bands U and L

	Band L	Band U	Total
White British and 'Other' girls in Band(s) (n)	42	34	76
All girls in Band(s) (n)	77	53	130
White British and 'Other' girls as % of all girls in Band(s)	55%	64%	58%
(X^2 = 1.192, 1 df, not significant)			
White British and 'Other' boys in Band(s) (n)	24	50	74
All boys in Band(s) (n)	51	89	140
White British and 'Other' boys as % of all boys in Band(s)	47%	56%	53%
(X^2 = 1.082, 1 df, not significant)			
White British and 'Other' students in Band(s) (n)	66	84	150
All students in Band(s) (n)	128	142	270
White British and 'Other' students as % of all students in Band(s)	52%	59%	56%
(X^2 = 1.471, 1 df, not significant)			

At this level of organisation in the school there was a more clearcut division on the basis of a student's sex than on his/her ethnic group membership in allocation to a Band.

It has been established that there were significant differences in allocation to Bands as between girls and boys; that the greater proportion of boys in Band U was not simply a reflection of their overall greater numbers in the fifth year; and that girls were disproportionately represented in the lower Band (Table 1). It has also been established that, taking the fifth year as a whole, there appears to be a significant difference in the allocation of West Indian, but not of Asian, white British and 'Other' students to Band L or U (Table 2 to 4). It is now necessary to

look at the sex and ethnic distribution in the group of students who are the focus of this thesis - those in Band U.

Table 5 Distribution of girls and boys by ethnic group membership in Band U

	Asian	W. Indian	White British	Other	Total
Girls	11(21%) (33%)	8(15%) (38%)	28(53%) (38%)	6(11%) (40%)	53(100%) (37%)
Boys	22(25%) (67%)	13(15%) (62%)	45(51%) (62%)	9(10%) (60%)	89(101%) (63%)
Total	33(23%) (100%)	21(15%) (100%)	73(51%) (100%)	15(11%) (100%)	142(100%) (100%)

(X^2 = 0.26, 3 df, not significant)

Table 5 shows that the proportion of Asian to White British; Asian to West Indian; and White British to West Indian pupils was very similar for boys and for girls (row percentages). It is also evident (column percentages) that the proportion of girls to boys was similar in all the ethnic groups. Thus it can be concluded that, taking into account the skewed sex distribution between Bands, the population of Band U shows no significant association between ethnic group membership and sex. What this suggests is that (1) while girls, as a group, are less likely to be allocated to Band U, this is equally true of all girls from whatever ethnic background. The lower representation of girls in the upper Band does not come about as the result of the greater exclusion of girls of a particular ethnic group. (2) On the other hand, while boys as a group were more likely to be allocated to Band U, it has been shown that this is not true for West Indian boys (Table 3). Nevertheless the proportion of West Indian boys to West Indian girls is similar to the proportion of males to females for all the other ethnic groups within Band U.

Subject specialisation within Band U

There were five forms to which a student could be allocated on the basis of which subjects for CSE/O level s/he was specialising in. Form 2 (23 girls, 4 boys) was for those specialising in languages. These students had elected to take a second foreign language (Russian or German) in addition to French which was taken by most pupils. Forms X1 and X2 contained students 'specialising' in science i.e. they had elected to take physics and chemistry instead of the one science subject taken by other students. Forms Y1 and Y2 (Arts) contained students who were taking both History and Geography instead of only one of these subjects as did all other students. Students were distributed among these groups as shown in Table 6.

Table 6 Distribution of students by specialism

(i) Girls and Boys

	Language	Science	Arts	Total
Girls	23(45%)	17(33%)	11(22%)	51(100%)
	(85%)	(27%)	(23%)	(37%)
Boys	4(5%)	47(53%)	37(42%)	88(100%)
	(15%)	(73%)	(77%)	(63%)
Total	27(19%)	64(46%)	48(34%)	139(100%)
	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)

(X^2 = 34.06, 2 df, significant at .01)

(ii) Ethnic group members

Asian	1(3%)	26(81%)	5(16%)	32(100%)
	(4%)	(41%)	(10%)	(23%)
White British	18(25%)	23(32%)	31(44%)	72(100%)
	(66%)	(36%)	(65%)	(51%)
West Indian	4(19%)	7(33%)	10(48%)	21(100%)
	(15%)	(11%)	(21%)	(15%)
Other	4(29%)	8(57%)	2(14%)	14(100%)
	(15%)	(12%)	(4%)	(11%)
Total	27(19%)	64(46%)	48(34%)	139(100%)
	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)

(X^2 (corrected) = 23.98, 6 df, significant at .01)

Looking at Table 6(i) it is clear that the sexes were not randomly

distributed throughout the three groups; girls were to be found disproportionately in the Languages group (85% of the whole Language group); a majority of boys (53% of all boys) were to be found in the science group while a tiny proportion of boys was in the Languages group.

Looking at Table 6(ii) it is also clear that students from the three ethnic backgrounds were not randomly distributed throughout the three specialisations. In some respects the English and West Indian students showed a similar pattern - that is, the largest group was in the Arts course (44% and 48% respectively) though in neither case did this constitute an absolute majority of white British or West Indian students. However, the majority of Asians was in the Science course and this accounted for 8:10 Asian students. Although they constituted only 23% of the entire Band U, they made up 41% of the Science group. It has already been established that the two sexes were in similar proportions within each ethnic group in the Band as a whole (see Table 5), so the present findings about placement in specialism groups cannot be dismissed as artefacts created by the under- or over-representation of any particular ethnic or sex group in the Band.

This being the case it may be instructive to look further at the differences between the ethnic groups and the sexes in relation to choice of specialism. These are set out in Tables 7(i), (ii) and (iii).

Table 7(i) Distribution of Asian students by specialism

	Language	Science	Arts	Total
Girls	1	8	2	11
Boys	0	18	3	21
Total	1	26	5	32

($X^2 < 1$, 2 df, not significant)

Table 7(i) shows that, although Asians were to be found in disproportionate numbers in the science group, this was equally true for girls and boys.

(Asian boys outnumbered girls by 2:1 in the whole Band and by about the same proportion in the science group.) In other words sciences were equally likely to be the choice of Asian girls and boys. This was not the case for the other students. West Indian and White British students followed a similar pattern (though figures for the West Indians only approach significance those for the White British are significant). Approximately 1:3 White British and West Indian boys chose to specialise in sciences (compared with 8:10 Asians) and within this small science group White British and West Indian boys outnumbered their female peers to a greater extent than can be accounted for solely in terms of the greater proportion of boys to girls in the Band.

Table 7(ii) Distribution of White British students by specialism

	Language	Science	Arts	Total
Girls	14	6	7	27
Boys	4	17	24	45
Total	18	23	31	72

(X^2 (corrected) = 14.75, 2 df, significant at .01)

White British and West Indian girls were less likely than Asian girls to choose science as their specialism, and also less likely than white British and West Indian boys. But for white British and West Indian students the most noteworthy feature is the consistent sex-differences in choice of specialism other than science. An absolute majority of boys chose the Arts course and an absolute majority of girls chose the Languages course (though the proportions within an ethnic group varied somewhat).

Table 7(iii) Distribution of West Indian students by specialism

	Language	Science	Arts	Total
Girls	4	2	2	8
Boys	0	5	8	13
Total	4	7	10	21

(X^2 (corrected) = 4.91, 2 df, not significant)

In exercising their choice of 'specialist' school subjects studied, pupils in Band U at Torville demonstrated considerable and significant differences between females and males. Students from the three ethnic groups also typically chose different specialist subjects. The result was that specialisms were to a greater or lesser extent associated with one of the sexes and one or two of the ethnic groups. Murphy (1977), analysing O level entries in England and Wales for the year 1975/6 and Nevin (1973), discussing Irish schools indicate that the avoidance of science subjects by girls is by no means confined to Torville school. It has been suggested that the 'sex composition of the school influences subject choice' (King 1973, p.160) such that there is a greater bias against science subjects among girls in mixed schools than in all-girls schools. However, the interaction between sex-class and ethnicity also needs to be remembered; Asian girls at Torville did not demonstrate the same dislike for science as the other girls, which is a necessary reminder that such tendencies may be culture specific, as Kelly (1978) has recently demonstrated. The languages specialism may be designated as both predominantly female and white British, while the Arts specialism is predominantly male. It can be concluded from the foregoing analysis that white British and West Indian students manifested marked differences between males and females in the school subjects in which they chose to specialise, but that such differences were absent among Asian students. Additionally, marked ethnic differences (among both the sexes) could be discerned in the choice of languages and science.

It was suggested in an earlier chapter (chapter 5) that school subjects might be regarded as more or less appropriate for one sex than the other. In that chapter the issue was analysed in terms of the sex-class of teachers who taught particular subjects. Information in the present chapter leads one to think that school subjects were associated

with sex-class in the minds of students at Torville. Kagan (1965) has concluded that such an association between branches of knowledge and masculinity or femininity exists in America:

> 'There are strong semantic associations between the dimensions of 'masculinity' and 'femininity' and specific areas of knowledge for most adult members of western culture. This is an unfortunate marriage for one would hope that knowledge would retain some neutrality amidst the warring factions of the mind. It may be possible, however, to alter this associational link between domain of knowledge and the sex roles through modifications in the procedures and atmosphere in the elementary schools.' (Kagan 1965, p.558)

Whether such assumptions about appropriate spheres of knowledge for males and females can be modified in school, students at Torville had evidently not overcome such assumptions and the following section will further examine school subjects for their connotations of femininity and masculinity.

Masculine, Feminine And Non Sex-typed Subjects

In this section a subject is defined as 'masculine' if significantly more male than female students elected to take it; 'feminine' if significantly more female than male students chose to study it, and not sex-typed if the proportion of males and females did not differ significantly from their overall numbers in the Band.

Common core subjects: all students were obliged to take English, Maths, R.E. and Careers. These I have designated the common core of subjects. They will be excluded from analysis in this section as pupils exercised no choice with respect to them. Analysis of the 'gender' of school subjects will be restricted to those in which a student can exercise some degree of choice.

Compulsory subjects in each specialism ('defining subjects'): the defining subjects in the Science specialisms were Chemistry and Physics, and in Arts were History and Geography. These were all significantly male-pupil

Table 8 'Gender' of school subjects (n=17)

	X^2 significant at or beyond: (1.d.f.)	Gender
Photography	.01 level *	Masculine
Technical Drawing	.01 level *	Masculine
Woodwork	.01 level *	Masculine
Physics (specialist and forced choice)	.01 level	Masculine
((i) Specialist	.02 level	Masculine)
((ii) Forced choice	.01 level *	Masculine)
Chemistry	.02 level	Masculine
Geography (specialist and forced choice)	.02 level	Masculine
((i) Specialist	.02 level	Masculine)
((ii) Forced choice	.02 level	Masculine)
Home Economics	.01 level *	Feminine
Needlework	.01 level *	Feminine
Drama	.01 level *	Feminine
German	.01 level *	Feminine
French (specialist and forced choice)	.01 level	Feminine
((i) Specialist	.01 level *	Feminine)
((ii) Forced choice	not sig.	not sex-typed)
Biology (forced choice and optional)	.01 level	Feminine
((i) Forced choice	.01 level	Feminine)
((ii) Option	not sig.	not sex-typed)
Social Studies	not sig.	not sex-typed
General Science	not sig. *	not sex-typed
Russian	not sig. *	not sex-typed
Art	not sig. *	not sex-typed
History (specialist and forced choice)	not sig.	not sex-typed
((i) Specialist	.02 level	Masculine)
((ii) Forced choice	not sig.	not sex-typed)

* Yates Correction

dominated. The defining subjects for the Languages specialism were French and German or Russian. The first two were significantly female-dominant. This follows logically from the relative proportions of girls and boys electing to follow a particular specialism, as already discussed (see Table 8).

Forced choice subjects: a further two school subjects were drawn from a list which was dependent on student's specialism: Science students had to choose French or Social Studies, and Geography or History; Arts students had to choose one science, and French or social studies; while Languages students chose one science and either History or Geography (see Table 8). In these subjects, where students had only a limited room for exercising preferences, only two subjects were significantly sex-typed: Physics ('masculine') and Biology ('feminine').

Options: each student also had to choose one of eight 'optional' subjects which were timetabled so that any student in any specialism in Band U had the choice of all of these subjects. In a sense this was where students exercised their personal preferences most freely. A glance at Table 8 shows that Photography, Woodwork, and Technical Drawing were 'masculine'- in fact they are exclusively the domain of male students; conversely Home Economics and Needlework were exclusively female, while Drama was significantly 'feminine'.

In those subjects in which students could exercise a degree of choice 12:17 were sex-typed, of which 6 were masculine and 6 feminine (see Table 8). To anybody with a passing acquaintance with schools and students, or with recent British studies of sex-typing in schools (Marks 1976, Sharpe 1976; Wolpe 1977) there will be no great surprise that the science and technical subjects were gender typed as masculine while the domestic subjects and languages were typed as feminine. Sex-typing was most extreme in the eight subjects where students had their freest choice (in the

'options') where there was most evidence of complete sexual segregation (in five subjects) and clear sex-typing in two others. Only one option - Art - was not sex-typed. Sex-typing of a slightly less extreme kind operated in six of the seven subjects which defined the specialisms - only Russian was the exception. There was least apparent sex-typing in the subjects where students were forced to choose between two or three subjects - only Biology and Physics out of 7 subjects were significantly sex-typed.

On the basis of pupil choice it is possible to conclude that a majority of school subjects was sex typed and in line with commonsense understandings elsewhere of the 'appropriate' spheres for males and females.

It was also possible to discern a degree of 'ethnic-typing' of school subjects, a phenomenon which to my knowledge has been barely mentioned in Britain. Kelly (1978) has researched the relative popularity of science subjects among girls and boys in a number of different countries, but this does not indicate the popularity of science relative to specific other subjects. The section which follows looks more closely at this question in relation to white British, Asian and West Indian students in Band U at Torville.

'Ethnicity' Of Subjects

For present purposes a subject is defined as ethnically-typed if a significantly larger proportion of members of one ethnic group than of the other groups elected to take it. Similarly, a subject is deemed not ethnically-typed if the proportion of Asians, White British, or West Indians did not differ significantly from their overall proportions in the Band.

For reasons set out in the previous section, analysis is restricted

to those school subjects in which students exercised choice. Analysis is also restricted to students classified as West Indian, Asian or White British, since 'Other' students did not constitute a recognisable or coherent ethnic group.

In the light of the overwhelming sex-typing of subjects it was decided to analyse pupils' choice of subjects within any ethnic group by taking boys and girls separately. For those subjects which were the exclusive domain of one sex it is, of course, possible to take the figure for that sex only in deciding whether a subject was ethnically-typed. On the other hand in subjects taken by males and females it is only safe to assume ethnic typing where significant differences show for both boys and girls separately.

Reference to Table 9 indicates that only four subjects were clearly ethnically-typed (see section A of Table 9) - Chemistry and Physics being 'Asian', the exclusively feminine subject of Home Economics being particularly 'West Indian' and the exclusively male subject of Woodwork being significantly avoided by Asian boys, thus making it 'White British and West Indian'.

Six subjects were clearly not specific to any one ethnic group (section D), while a further 6 (sections B and C) were somewhat ambiguous. Within this group only optional Biology shows clear ethnic-typing (as 'Asian') serving to underline that sciences were generally preferred by Asians above other subjects. There is partial confirmation in these figures that the Languages specialism (German, specialist French) and the Arts specialism (specialist Geography and History), were both predominantly 'White British and West Indian', in that the subjects for these two specialisms were avoided by Asian students (but more by boys than girls).

Comparison of Tables 8 and 9 demonstrates the lack of clear ethnic-typing relative to gender-typing of subjects. This is shown by the smaller

Table 9 'Ethnicity' of school subjects (n=16)*

		X^2 sig. at:** girls	boys	both	Ethnicity
A	(Home Economics	.01	-	-	West Indian
	(Woodwork	-	.02	-	Not Asian
	(Chemistry	.05	.01	.01	Asian
	(Physics (specialist & forced choice)	.05	.01	.01	Asian
	((i) specialist	.05	.01	.01	Asian
	((ii) forced choice	-	.05	-	Asian
B	(Biology (forced choice & option)	n.s.	n.s.	.05	(Not West Indian)
	((i) forced choice	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	Not typed
	((ii) option	.01	.01	.01	Asian
	(Geography (specialist & forced choice)	n.s.	.05	n.s.	(Not Asian - boys only)
	((i) specialist	n.s.	.01	.02	Not Asian, boys only
	((ii) forced choice	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	Not typed
	(Drama	.05	n.s.	n.s.	(White British, girls only)
	(German	n.s.	n.s.	.05	(Not Asian)
C	(History (specialist & forced choice)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	Not typed
	((i) specialist	n.s.	.01	.02	Not Asian, boys only
	((ii) forced choice	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	Not typed
	(French (specialist & forced choice)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	Not typed
	((i) specialist	n.s.	n.s.	.05	Not Asian
	((ii) forced choice	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	Not typed
D	(Art	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	Not typed
	(General Science	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	Not typed
	(Social Studies	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	Not typed
	(Needlework	n.s.	-	-	Not typed
	(Photography	-	n.s.	-	Not typed
	(Technical Drawing	-	n.s.	-	Not typed

Notes: * Russian is excluded since this was in practice taken by 'Other' students only.

** X^2 (with Yates Correction), 2 d.f.

number and the lower significance levels of the ethnically-typed subjects.

Table 10 demonstrates this more vividly and underlines the fact that

Table 10 Gender and ethnicity of school subjects (defined by pupil choice), Combined

	Gender	Ethnicity
Physics	M	Asian
Chemistry	M	Asian
Woodwork	M	White British & West Indian
Geography	M	Not clearly typed
Technical Drawing	M	Not typed
Photography	M	Not typed
Home Economics	F	West Indian
Biology	F	Not clearly typed
Drama	F	Not clearly typed
German	F	Not clearly typed
French	F	Not typed
Needlework	F	Not typed
Art	Not typed	Not typed
General Science	Not typed	Not typed
History	Not typed	Not typed
Social Studies	Not typed	Not typed

ethnic-typing occurs only in those subjects which were also gender-typed. The majority of feminine-typed subjects had a similar appeal to girls whatever their ethnic origins (Home Economics being the exception). On the other hand, while Physics and Chemistry attracted, in general, more boys than girls they also appealed more to Asians than to white British or West Indian students. Of the three exclusively masculine subjects only woodwork seems to have been significantly avoided by Asian boys.

Analysis so far indicates a degree of separation of the sexes, resulting from their choice of subjects. Partly as a result of these choices, but also because of certain timetabling and organisational

decisions it is possible to demonstrate even greater separation of the sexes, sometimes amounting to sexual segregation, in teaching sets.

Sex Distribution Of Pupils In Teaching Sets

Once students had made their subject choices they were organised into groups for teaching purposes. Within the Band, students were allocated to a particular teaching group for each of their school subjects. In other words there were a number of sets (teaching groups) for each school subject. Excluding Games/P.E., students were allocated to 9 subject sets. There was no single rationale for allocation of students to sets; some subjects (e.g. R.E., Careers) were usually, but not invariably, taught to the form group; most other compulsory subjects (e.g. English, Maths) and some optional subjects (e.g. second foreign language, second science subject) were divided according to whether students would be expected to take C.S.E. or O level in that particular subject; other optional subjects (e.g. Photography, Drama, Needlework, Home Economics) for which there were only sufficient students for one teaching group were obviously not divided. Games lessons were divided into boys' and girls' games. Students elected to participate in one games activity for a term at a time, so that sets lasted only for that period before being altered when students were offered different activities at the beginning of the next term.

The previous analysis of the distribution of the sexes in Band U, and of the sex-typing of subjects within the Band would lead one to expect skewed sex distributions in the set. Taking all sets together there were 13 in which female pupils outnumbered males, but 37 in which males were more numerous than females. In one set there were equal numbers of boys and girls. One would expect, in most cases, boys and girls to have spent the majority of their time in sets where boys outnumbered girls,

Table 11 Male pupil- and female pupil-dominated sets, by subject

	TOTAL	
	Sets	Male-dominant sets
English	5	4
Maths	5	4
Careers	5	4
R.E.	5	4
French	5	3
Geography	4	4
History	3	3
Physics	3	3
Chemistry	2	2
Biology	2	1
Social Studies	2	2
Second Foreign Language	2	0
Photography	1	1
Woodwork	1	1
Technical	1	1
Art	1	0*
Drama	1	0
Needlework	1	0
Home Economics	1	0
General Science	1	0
Total	51 (100%)	37 (73%)

* = equal number of girls and boys

although one would also expect a slightly different picture within the Languages group. Tables 11 and 12 set out data on the sex-composition of all sets in Band U and of the relevant sets for each specialism. Almost

three quarters of all sets were, in this sense, male-dominated, and this ranged from 89% of the sets into which science specialists might be placed to just over a half in the Languages group. From this crude indicator one can conclude that no boy spent a majority of his time in female-dominated teaching sets although the majority of girls spent a considerable amount of their time in school in male-dominated sets. Looking at each specialism in turn one can elaborate the picture further.

Table 12 Predominance of male or female pupils in school subjects, by specialism

	Languages		Sciences		Arts	
	No. sets	Male-dominated(n)	No. sets	Male-dominated(n)	No. sets	Male dominated(n)
Core Subjects: (4)						
English	3	2	2	2	2	2
Maths	3	2	2	2	3	2
Careers	3	2	2	2	3	2
R.E.	3	2	2	2	3	2
Defining subjects: (2 per specialism)						
(French	2	0	-	-	-	-
Lang. (Russian/ German	2	0	-	-	-	-
Sci. (Physics	-	-	2	2	-	-
(Chemistry	-	-	2	2	-	-
(History	-	-	-	-	2	2
Arts (Geography	-	-	-	-	2	2
Options: (choose 1:8)						
Biology	1	1	1	1	1	1
Photography	1	1	1	1	1	1
Technical Drawing	1	1	1	1	1	1
Woodwork	1	1	1	1	1	1
Home Economics	1	0	1	0	1	0
Needlework	1	0	1	0	1	0
Drama	1	0	1	0	1	0
Art	1	n/a*	1	n/a*	1	n/a*
Forced Choice: (2 per specialism)						
(Geography	2	2	2	2	-	-
(History	1	1	1	1	-	-
(French	-	-	3	3	3	3
(Social (studies	-	-	2	2	2	2
(General (science	1	0	-	-	1	0
(Biology	1	0	-	-	1	0
(Physics	1	1	-	-	1	1
Total	30	16 (53%)	28	25 (89%)	31	22 (71%)

* Equal numbers of boys and girls in this set.

Languages Group

Table 13 Number of sets in which girls predominate by sex of student (Languages Group)

	Number of sets (max n=9)						
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Girls (n=23)	0	0	1	3	3	8	8
Boys (n=4)	1	1	2	0	0	0	0
Total (n=27)	1	1	3	3	3	8	8

Of the thirty sets to which students in this group could be allocated, 16 were male-, and 13 female-dominated, and one set had equal numbers of boys and girls. The maximum number of female-dominated sets to which any student could be allocated was 8, accounting for 30 (ex 40) periods per week. For boys this notional maximum would be increased to 31 if account were taken of the weekly form period. For girls the potential maximum would be increased to 34 (1 form period 3 Games/P.E.). However, a glance at Table 13 shows that, in practice, boys in the Language group spent the majority of their time in male-dominated teaching sets; being in the Language group simply decreased slightly the number of male-dominated sets in which boys find themselves. Girls in this group (with the exception of 1) spent the majority of their time in female-dominant teaching sets and while no girl spent all her time at school in this way, girls in Languages were the only group of girls who spent a significant amount of time with own-sex peers.

Science Group

There were 28 sets to which a student in Science could be allocated, of which 25 were male-dominated, one had an equal sex ratio and 3 were female-dominated. These three were all optional subjects from which a student could choose only 1. Theoretically, then, there was only one set

Table 14 Number of sets in which boys predominate by sex of student (Science Group)

	Number of sets (max n = 9)		
	7	8	9
Girls (n=17)	1	4	12
Boys (n=47)	0	4	43
Total (n=64)	1	8	55

in which females outnumbered males where students in science could find themselves. This would have been the maximum for boys, so no boy in Science would spend more than 4 (ex 40) periods in any week in a female-dominant teaching set. Girls might have spent up to 7 periods (if Games/P.E. were included). Table 14 shows that, in practice, the great majority of boys (43:47) spent all their time in male-dominated sets and that 12 of the 17 girls also spent all their time apart from 3 periods of Games/P.E. in such sets. All girls spent the great majority of their time in male-dominated teaching groups. There was one girl who took two subjects in which girls predominated - despite being in the Science group she had chosen to take German instead of French as her only foreign language and the German set (made up of the Language specialists) was female-dominated.

Arts Group

Table 15 Number of sets in which boys predominate by sex of student (Arts Group)

	Number of sets (max n = 9)					
	4	5	6	7	8	9
Girls (n=11)	1	7	0	3	0	0
Boys (n=37)	0	0	1	6	16	14
Total (n=48)	1	7	1	9	16	14

Of the thirty-one possible sets to which a student in the Arts Group

could be allocated one contained an equal number of girls and boys, in 22 males outnumbered females and in 8 the sex balance was reversed. The maximum number of female-dominant sets to which any student could be allocated was 4. For boys this would be the theoretical maximum and would account for 16 periods (ex 40) per week. Girls could spend up to 19 periods, almost half their time, in female-dominant groups if the 3 Games/P.E. periods were included. In fact, an analysis of Table 15 shows that while no girl spent all her time in male dominant groups, only one spent the majority of her time with own-sex peers and the majority of girls spent the majority of their time with male-dominant groups. No boy found himself in the maximum possible number of female-dominated sets and all boys spent the great majority of their time in own-sex dominated teaching groups. Twenty nine percent of boys in Arts, were taught for all their time in such groups.

This section has demonstrated that, at the very least, the experience of school is likely to be very different for boys and girls in Band U. Initial choice of specialism placed them in one administrative grouping (a Band) in which there was a numerical superiority of boys. The particular choice of specialism (Arts, Science, Language) structured their location in other administrative units (a form and various sets) which also were dominated by males in three out of four instances. Within this overall pattern a variety of experiences was possible, ranging from the 57 boys (65% of all boys) who were taught exclusively in groups in which their own sex was in the majority, to the 23 girls (nearly half of all girls) who were taught for the majority of their time in sets in which girls outnumbered boys. Unlike boys, with regard to their own-sex peers, no girls were taught exclusively in female-dominant sets. No boy spent all his time at school being taught in groups where the opposite sex was numerically dominant while 12 girls were taught for all their time at

school (apart from Games and P.E.) in sets in which boys outnumbered the girls. Given the general numerical dominance of males in Band U, this figure (accounting for less than a quarter of girls) is perhaps surprisingly small.

It is now essential to examine the notion of pupil choice as a possible means of understanding both how such sex segregation arises in a mixed school and how, against that general background, a range of experiences for different groups of students comes about.

Pupil 'Choice' Examined

Thus far, pupil choice has been treated as relatively straightforward, although specific organisational constraints were briefly discussed earlier. It would be naive to assume that students made their choices at the beginning of their fourth year in a complete vacuum or in isolation from pressures from other people. As one writer has pointed out:

> 'In general, children and their families make their own choices by reference to the constraints which determine them. Even when the choices seem to them to follow simply from taste or vocational sense, they nevertheless indicate the roundabout effect of objective conditions.' (Bourdieu 1974, p.111)

First the question of pressures from teachers will be considered. The fact that significantly different proportions of West Indian students than of white British or Asian were to be found in the lower (practical) and the upper (academic) bands could suggest that there was direct and systematic discrimination against West Indian pupils on the part of teachers. If allocation to a band were solely the decision of teaching staff the figures for West Indian pupils' representation in the two bands would support such an interpretation. A similar case could be argued with respect to girls. However, students were placed in one of the bands as a result of their choice of 'specialist' subject. Such choices could be more apparent than real if they were constrained by covert or overt previous

'channelling' by teachers. A process of this kind could explain why West Indians were more likely than Asians to be found in the lower band - on average West Indians had been at the school (or in the British education system) slightly longer than had Asian students and thus would have been subjected to such channelling for somewhat longer[6]. But this would not entirely explain the case of West Indians since within this group it was the boys rather than girls who were allocated in disproportionate numbers to the lower Band. Hence one would need to explain how West Indian girls resisted or remained unaware of teachers' pressures on them as Black pupils while boys did not. If channelling did occur it is more clearly demonstrated in the case of the sexes - with girls, irrespective of their ethnic background, being found in disproportionate numbers in the lower Band. Put another way, one could predict more accurately whether a student would be in Band L or Band U knowing his/her sex-class than knowing which ethnic group s/he came from. If there were channelling and it was based on sex-class West Indian boys ran counter to the trend; if it were based on skin colour it seems to have affected only West Indian boys and not West Indian girls or Asians. If students were allocated to a Band on choices unstructured by any racist channelling by teachers the location of West Indian boys still needs some explanation.

The use of certain organisational arrangements in a school may convey to pupils that some people are considered more valuable than others. Specifically discussing the way that a pupil is given an indication of his/her academic worth through the use of streaming, one writer suggests:

> ' ... the organisation of the school ... can be viewed as a whole set of signals whose messages are all the more powerful for being transmitted so often. Pupils do not, however, automatically react to these signals. The message may be understood, but it is not always accepted.' (King 1973, p.181)

I have pursued a similar argument in relation to the sex-typing of school subjects, and the visible differences in the status of males and

females on the teaching staff. By the time students in this study had reached a point where they were choosing their 'specialist', forced choice and optional subjects they would (almost all) have spent three years in a school where, as has been shown, certain disciplines were taught exclusively or predominantly by teachers of one sex. They were unlikely to be completely unaware of these tendencies, even if ultimately they chose to run counter to them. Very few did so choose. In chapter 5 subjects were defined as 'male' or 'female' according to the sex of teachers who taught the subject. A minority of pupils elected to study subjects which their sex-class typically did not, at Torville, teach. King concludes that the direct relationship between stream status and involvement in school was much more common for boys than girls and thus that, in this sense, girls would appear to be somewhat more independent of teachers' assessments of them in their sense of academic worth. A similar tendency can be discerned in male and female pupils' choice of school subjects in the present study. Seventy three boys (92%) took no 'female' subjects, and of these 22 (25% of all boys) studied solely 'male' subjects. All girls took at least two 'male' subjects (the minimum possible), but none studied 'male' subjects exclusively, and over half took the maximum possible number of 'female' ones (see chapter 5).

Table 16 of this chapter demonstrates the high, but not complete, overlap between 'gender' of a subject defined by the sex-class of those who taught and by the sex-class of those who chose to study it. This points to a close association between sex-typing as manifested by teachers and pupils' choice of school subjects. It cannot be automatically assumed that this relationship was caused solely by pupils modelling themselves on teachers or opting for subjects simply because they were demonstrated to be 'appropriate' for their sex. The existence of male and female disciplines was not so much a clear prescription or proscription for

Table 16 Gender of school subjects defined in terms of sex of teacher and sex of pupil (subjects taken by Band U only)

Defined by proportion of male and female students	Defined by sex of teachers			
	(i) All Staff (n)		(ii) Band U staff (n)	
A. Masculine Subjects				
Physics	M	(5)	M	(3)
Woodwork	(		M	(1)
Technical Drawing	(M	(4)	M	(1)
Photography	M	(1)	M	(1)
Geography	PM	(6)	PM	(4)
Chemistry	PM	(5)	M	(2)
B. Feminine Subjects				
Home Economics	F	(4)	F	(1)
Needlework	F	(1)	F	(1)
Biology	PF	(6)	NS	(2)
French	PM	(10)	PM	(5)
Drama	M	(2)	M	(1)
German	M	(3)	M	(1)
C. Not Sex-Typed				
General Science	NS	(8)	NS	(2)*
Social Studies	NS	(6)	M	(2)
Russian	NS	(2)	F	(1)
Art	PF	(4)	M	(1)
History	PM	(10)	PM	(3)

Notation: F = all staff female
M = all staff male
NS = equal number male and female staff
PF = female outnumber male staff
PM = male outnumber female staff

* One set shared equally between male and female teacher

choice as a recognisable and fairly consistent statement of the apparently legitimate boundaries/parameters within which choices were to be made.

When deciding which subjects to study any student weighs up a number of considerations. Where students perceive a relationship between school subjects and future employment prospects they may choose subjects which they believe will be relevant to their own job plans. Students may have an intrinsic interest in the subject matter - itself partially dependent on past success or failure in the subject in question. Whether students have such an interest in some/all their subjects or view all subjects with equal dislike or as equally difficult or irrelevant for them, other factors, extrinsic to content of courses, are likely to be more or less salient; for example, a desire to avoid certain people (teachers or pupils) or to be with particular others.

Students, obviously, at one level do not regard teachers as interchangeable and have preferences which may be sufficiently strong that, when possible, they will choose or try to avoid being taught by specific teachers, no matter what they teach. More obviously, students like some of their peers more than others. They may well consider it more important to be with some (e.g. own sex peers, friends, members of the opposite sex, those who 'want to work' or those 'you can have a laugh with') than to make their subject choices purely on the basis of inherent interest.

Different weight will be given to these factors by different students, or by the same student contemplating different subjects, but it does seem likely that the end result reflects attempts to implement their values in this regard.

In order to have any success in this enterprise students need to be able to make certain predictions about their school environment and to have discerned some kind of pattern from which to make their predictions. Short of asking all students in their year what subjects they will be

taking, students can make their decisions on more or less informed guesses. This is where a knowledge of sex-, gender- and ethnically-typed subjects is useful.

For example, if a boy wishes to be with other boys and/or to avoid as far as possible being with girls he could make his choices from among those subjects which are (a) typically avoided by girls and (b) more frequently chosen by boys. The same knowledge can be used by a student who wants to maximise time spent with the opposite sex. Similarly, knowing which subjects are strongly preferred by a particular ethnic group means that students can make more or less accurate subject choices to ensure that they spend as much time as possible with the ethnic group(s) of their choice.

It may be that a student has no strong preferences of this sort and/or no very clear idea about his/her future employment, but merely wants to be with his/her friends in whatever subjects they happen to choose. If this were a general occurrence the sex-typing of subjects among students in this school would come about as a result of a few with strong views who draw other, less committed students with them. This would, incidentally, indicate a very high degree of homosociality (Gagnon and Simon 1967; Lipman-Blumen, 1976) and own-sex friendship choices.

It might be objected that the foregoing discussion assumes too high a degree of consciousness on the part of students or that 'choice' only exists in the minds of teachers (and researchers) but not of students. Those who are bored with school or find it irrelevant cannot perhaps be said to choose when what they are offered seems uniformly uninteresting, boring etc. to them. 'Choice' is in these cases more accurately to be seen as a respectable term for describing lack of definite aims or options.

I would suggest that students who have none of the guiding principles for choosing, set out above, would be the most likely to drift towards

subjects which are typed as 'appropriate' for their sex and/or ethnic group. If nothing else the stereotyping of subjects provides some structure for those with no other rationale for choice.

Whatever mixture of factors intrinsic or extrinsic to subjects to final choice of subjects among these fifth year students there is strong evidence that gender-typing of subjects underpinned their choices rather than gender-typing being solely created by their choice.

Conclusions And Implications

In this chapter subjects have been designated masculine or feminine by taking the relative proportion of male and female students choosing to study them. A similar attempt was made to ascertain which subjects were significantly favoured by a particular ethnic group. Such measures are used as a convenient means of summarising pupils' choices. They indicate that the distribution of students throughout a single subject or group of subjects (specialisms) was clearly not a simple reflection of their overall numbers in the Band. Sex-typing of subjects was stronger and more extensive than ethnic typing. The most obvious and extreme sex-typing could be observed in those areas where students exercised their choices most freely - notably in the options and specialisms. Ethnic-typing was more evident in subjects which define the specialisms than in other types of subject.

If this were the only evidence of stereotyping or if it did not coincide so closely with the sex-typing of subjects based on teacher's sex one might be justified in reading no more into it than a reflection of student's free choices. But the extent to which the sex-typing (defined independently in two ways) overlaps and the actual subjects which are thus defined as masculine or feminine suggest that students' choices are structured by norms of appropriate spheres for males and females; norms

which exist and have wide currency outside and inside school. One could wish for at least one example in this school of a subject typed for one sex, say Physics for girls or needlework for boys, which would surprise and so relieve the depressing picture of traditional stereotypes of males and females perpetuated for yet another generation.

A separate section of this chapter dealt with specific organisation of teaching groups (sets) and showed clearly that initial choice of specialisation directly affected the sex composition of sets in those specialisms. But over and above the expected skewed sex distribution which comes out of pupil choice, the teaching was organized in such a way that some teaching groups which could have been organised so as to be independent of choice of specialism were not so organised. This means that in some instances the school exacerbated the already existing dominance of male pupils (in the case of Sciences) or females (in the case of Languages). For example, 1 careers and 1 R.E. set were exclusively female, and 1 careers and 1 R.E. set exclusively male simply because they were timetabled against P.E. which was sexually segregated. In another case sex-segregation was created because one subject had very few members of a particular sex and for whatever reason they were all put into one set (e.g. the 4 boys in the Language specialism were all taught French in one set, thus leaving the other set exclusively female).

This is one further example of the fact that the structure and organisation of Torville school were sex-based, predicated on differences between male and female pupils. Torville is by no means unique in this respect; as a result of his survey of secondary schools King concluded that:

> 'Although the sexes were always differentiated in schools there was never sex-stratification ... To stratify sex implies that being a boy is better than being a girl or vice versa.' (King, 1973, p.161)

While I would concur with this conclusion - no robust evidence has been

produced of teachers evaluating the sexes differently at Torville - it relates to only part of the picture at school and is a direct consequence of his use of the term school to mean teachers[7]. I would argue that it is not necessary, and indeed may be irrelevant, to demonstrate that teachers, individually or collectively, believe one sex-class to be better than the other, but only that they believe differences between the sexes exist and that they use this 'knowledge' in certain organisational arrangements. Their own status and location within the school provide sufficient statement of the relative value of the sexes, while there is also evidence that certain branches of knowledge are simultaneously presented as male/masculine and more prestigious (see chapter 5).

In both these respects the structure and organisation of the school confirms the differences between the sexes and their relative worth which would be taken for granted by many people outside school. This is not to argue that school organisation determines pupils' choices of school subject or their perceptions of females and males, though clearly certain aspects of the organisation do determine the kind of sex environment in which pupils spend their time at school. Rather, pupils make their choices within the particular context of the school, but in the light of the meanings which they attach to those choices. These meanings would arise from their primary socialisation (see chapter 1) but might have been modified and given substance by what they have observed in school. The cumulative effect of this is for a high degree of sexual differentiation and sexual segregation to arise in a co-educational school. These are not in themselves either good or bad, although they are, presumably, at variance with one of the supposed values of mixed schooling - a greater and easier mixing between males and females and a breaking down of social barriers between the sexes. Fostering a co-educational environment by consciously monitoring the sex composition of teaching groups would hardly suffice to bring about a

reduction in sex differences and differences in the values, aspirations and achievement of female and male pupils, all the while that male and female pupils continue to choose different subjects for study.

There would seem to be a case for regarding the concept of pupil choice with some scepticism, at least in an educational system which demonstrates such ambiguity in relation to sex-class. On the one hand an egalitarian ideology tends to render a pupil's sex-class irrelevant, but on the other schools still continue to be organised around pupils' sex-class, so that it is made constantly relevant.

What is required is a system in which formal equality can be translated into actual equality, which may require that the sexes be treated differently to take account of the fact that female and male pupils may enter school with different understandings and sense of self-worth. Bourdieu, discussing social class inequalities comments:

> ' ... by treating all pupils, however unequal they may be in reality, as equal in rights and duties the educational system is led to give its de facto sanction to initial cultural inequalities.' (Bourdieu 1974, p.113)

What this suggests in relation to the sexes is that a commitment of a visible and wide-ranging nature would have to be made to change the present status and location of the sexes, both inside and, more particularly, outside the educational system. Without such a commitment the school (teachers, curriculum, organisation and pupils themselves) acts as a conservative force to legitimate and ensure the continuation of existing sexual divisions and stereotypes about the sexes.

In the meantime certain changes could be set in train; positive discrimination in favour of women to encourage the training of more female secondary school teachers generally and in the present 'male' disciplines in particular, as would be allowed under the Sex Discrimination Act, 1975; the widening of the number of subjects which constitute the compulsory curriculum, to include subjects which at present are particularly

sex-typed; and a lessening of the use of pupils' sex-class in the organisation of schools.

This chapter has suggested that pupils' assumptions about 'appropriate' spheres for the sexes may underline their choices in school. The following chapter will examine their self-concept as masculine and feminine in more depth and attempt to relate pupils' conceptions in this area to their location in school.

Notes

1. Indeed such 'evening out' of class-based differences is frequently used as a justification for the wearing of school uniform.

2. For a recent summary of this literature see Tomlinson (1977) and Fuller (1976). The latter is attached as Appendix VII to this thesis.

3. This figure exceeds by 4 the total number of Asian boys elsewhere in this report. For the purposes of the rest of the report these 4 boys were excluded because they were of 'West Indian Asian' origin. They appear in the category 'other' in ethnic breakdowns elsewhere. The reason for including them here is to make the category 'Asian' strictly comparable between Band L and Band U. If there were no Asians of West Indian origin in Band L, it would be necessary to exclude 4 boys of this kind in Band U; this would yield the following distribution:

Table 2A Distribution of Asians in Bands U and L (modified definition of Asian in Band U)

	Band L	Band U	Total
Asian girls (n)	13	11	24
Total girls in Band(s) (n)	17	53	130
Asian girls as % of girls in Band(s) (X^2=0.313, d.f.=1, not significant)	17%	21%	19%
Asian boys (n)	11	22	33
Total boys in Band(s) (n)	51	89	140
Asian boys as % of all boys in Band(s) (X^2=0.178, d.f.=1, not significant)	22%	25%	24%
All Asians (n)	24	33	57
All pupils in Band(s) (n)	128	142	270
Asians as % of all pupils in Band(s) (X^2=0.813, d.f.=1, not significant)	19%	23%	21%

As can be seen this does not substantially alter the picture; Asians still continue to be slightly more likely to be found in the upper Band, even using the stricter definition of 'Asian' in this Band.

4. I am indebted to the Careers teacher who provided lists of Black West Indian pupils in Bands U and L. By comparing his lists with West Indians known to me (through observation, questionnaire and school records data) in Band U it was possible to check the accuracy of his information. His estimate of Black West Indians in Band U accorded completely with my information. For this reason I am confident that his estimates for Band L are accurate.

5. These two groups are combined because although I have accurate information for students in Band U, so that 'Others' can be distinguished from white British, this information is not available for Band L students.

6. See chapter 4.

7. ' ... the use of the term school in phrases such as 'the school expects'... follows the common usage in such contexts where school usually refers to the headteachers and teachers.' (King 1973, p.167).

Chapter 10

Students' Perceptions of Themselves and of Sex Roles and Perspectives on Being in School

> 'Since there are many times the number of pupils than there are teachers, administrators and helpers, and in general the undistinguished citizenry do not share the official theory (of schools and schooling) but have a clutch of theories of their own, we need to reveal these theories, understand their associated rhetorics, and pay attention to the orderliness of the social landscape viewed from their standpoint.' (Rosser and Harre 1976, p.173: original emphasis).

Up to this point I have examined the salience of sex-class in school by looking at teachers' perceptions of students, at various aspects of the curriculum and school organisation, at certain features of the structural position of male and female teachers and at a number of dimensions along which male and female students differed in ways that were more or less readily visible. Throughout I have suggested and tried to substantiate the contention that the various aspects of the school are inter-related rather than having a uni-directional relationship. For example, it has been argued that teachers' perceptions of pupils are partly structured in terms of actual differences between pupils, sometimes emanating from outside the specific school context, but also that such differences may be made greater by the reinforcement which they receive within school from organisational features as well as from teachers. So far differences between students have been reported in order to demonstrate the lack of homogeneity among the pupil body in terms of rather obvious dimensions. I have not yet tried to present an analysis of these phenomena from the pupils' point of view. It should be clear, though, that certain 'pupil characteristics' and forms of behaviour in school may have different meanings for different pupils even when they can be interpreted by all teachers in the same way. To give specific examples, the meaning of achievement may be rather different for different pupils even when it is expressed in the same *form* of achieving behaviour; and while pupils may have a shared

understanding of what counts as a good pupil in the eyes of teachers, they may have radically different reasons for trying to meet or wanting to avoid the requirements of the 'good'pupil'. In other words, students may differ among themselves in rather less obvious ways than those already described.

It would be impossible to document all the ways in which students differed and in this thesis I am especially concerned with how they differed as a result of their membership of one category - sex-class - meaningful in and outside school. This chapter will demonstrate that the categories male and female were meaningful to students both as a means of differentiating between other people, but also as a means of differentiating themselves from others. Having established this I shall then examine in what ways, if any, girls and boys systematically differed in their perceptions of teachers and their own status as pupils.

The chapter will draw on observational material, interviews with students, their answers to certain questions on questionnaires completed during the period of fieldwork and eighteen months later and on their replies to a measure of gender identity.

Self-Concept As Masculine/Feminine

In the course of interviews with a sample of students in Band U, I asked students to talk about the ways in which they perceived themselves, and how they thought others perceived them, as a means of trying to establish in as wide a way as possible, how students typified themselves. At some point in the interview (in many cases after the topic had been raised in

relation to expectations about appropriate behaviour for males and females) and if the student had not spontaneously typified him- or herself previously in these terms, I specifically asked students whether they considered themselves to be masculine or feminine, or both. Although there is not space to report information concerning students' wider self-concepts the advantage of exploring students' gender identity in this way is that it places the information in a broad context and allows some assessment of the salience of gender, relative to other dimensions in a person's conceptualisations about the self.

At one level the information from these interviews can be briefly reported, although some explanation of the findings will be necessary. No student who was interviewed spontaneously described her- or himself as feminine or masculine, despite their knowledge of the general focus of the present study and despite the fact that throughout the interview they had been encouraged to make comparisons between the sexes and to discuss their conceptualisations of the terms masculine and feminine.

When prompted to consider themselves in terms of these labels none refused and all seemed comfortable to do so. All considered themselves to be 'appropriately' sex-typed (i.e. girls saw themselves as feminine and boys perceived themselves as masculine). Against this assessment of themselves as either 'basically' feminine or masculine, a number of students elaborated to indicate that they thought that they demonstrated both masculine and feminine characteristics. Girls were more likely than boys to suggest a coexistence of this sort and the following quotation, while not typical of all girls who were interviewed, is typical of the comments of such girls as did believe that they had both feminine and masculine dimensions to their identity:

> 'In character, not looks, perhaps I'm a bit masculine and L. (white British girl) is. She's very strong, just like a boy and has got very good view on everything, she's really sure about everything ... very strong character'.
>
> (Asian girl. Class origin, manual; perceived by teachers as a Good pupil; classified on the BSRI (see next section) as Androgynous).

In general, where a girl felt that she was both masculine and feminine it was obvious from the way she spoke about it that she accepted and (mostly) considered this to be an advantage. This was in contrast to the few boys who considered that they had some feminine characteristics. In the following excerpt, the boy describes behaviour which he himself designated as 'feminine, I suppose':

> 'I'm sensitive, very very sensitive to what people say, which is a pity. And another thing, this is the very thing about me that I hate, if something happens I have a great difficulty in stopping myself from crying, anything, anything at all like self pity, I have a terrible struggle which is very bad, but as long as I don't I'm alright, but I have a terrible struggle with that and it's something that I have hated about myself, that I couldn't control my emotions, crying especially and laughing'.
>
> (White British boy. Class origin, non-manual; seen as a Bad pupil (high aspiring, but low achieving); classified as Masculine on the BSRI).

This excerpt is typical in its evaluation of the feminine characteristic which the boy discerns in himself, but is expressed in an untypically candid fashion.

When students were talking about societal expectations concerning appropriate gender behaviour, they indicated by gesture and tone of voice as well as in what they actually said, that although they could specify these expectations they thought that nobody 'really' took these ideas very seriously now; or, if other people did, <u>they</u> certainly did not. The following excerpts indicate these assumptions:

> 'What can you say about feminine women? You don't find them these days, do you really, who has to be protected by a man, who can't stand on her own two feet alone ... These days a woman doesn't have to be supported by a man, she can support herself, really. They don't have to be that feminine and soft'.
>
> (Asian girl. Social class, manual; seen as a Bad pupil; BSRI categorisation, Feminine).
>
> Masculine:- ' Tall, muscles. Well most people say that, but I can't stand muscley men'.
>
> Feminine:- 'Droopy, sort of sit back and say 'oh darling'. Can't stand that. Be quiet, small, long hair like Miss A. (Teacher). Yukk!'

> (West Indian girl. Social class, father manual, mother non-manual; seen as an Unobtrusive pupil (high aspiring); BSRI categorisation, Feminine).

Excerpts from interviews with two girls have been quoted because girls were much more likely to demonstrate this scepticism about 'sex-roles' and also more likely to articulate it in relation to expectations about femininity.

In one sense these trends can be interpreted to mean that students consciously distanced themselves from external definitions of behaviour and attributes 'appropriate' for the sex-classes, considering them irrelevant to their own gender identity, or more radically, considering gender an irrelevancy to their own conceptualisations of themselves. Certainly the fact that students needed prompting before describing themselves in terms of gender labels would tend to support this interpretation. Another interpretation is also possible, which is that, at its most basic, students considered that the only required attribute for being deemed feminine was to be female and to be male in order to be masculine. Despite their ability to elaborate when asked many students first defined gender identity in the following very straightforward ways: 'Just definitely a man or boy'.

> 'I don't really think of their personality or anything when you say masculine' (West Indian girl); ' ... if they talk about a bloke who's really masculine, then I'd think of him as the average type of bloke' (white British girl); 'Mannish' (West Indian boy); 'Like a girl in every way' (Asian boy); 'Someone who behaves like a girl, looks like a girl' (West Indian boy); 'Somebody soft, kind and kind-hearted; I would describe a woman really' (Asian girl).

If one is masculine by virtue of being male and feminine by being female then gender was unproblematic to these students as regards their own identity, their perceptions of others and, indeed, others' perceptions of them. It does not seem, though, that gender was irrelevant, partly because students themselves typified different aspects of their own identity in terms of gender labels, while the behaviour thus described was consonant with more widely held views about appropriate male and female behaviour.

I would suggest that students were able to take this apparently simple view of gender precisely because processes of socialisation have been successful in shaping 'appropriate' gender identity in the great majority of people around them and in themselves. That students were able to set out these expectations and to discern their results in others will be demonstrated later in this chapter. While students felt that their own views were considerably different from others' and experienced their own identity based on their sex-class as relatively unique and untouched by such expectations it was nevertheless the case that their self-concepts and opinions about 'sex-roles' were embroideries on a basically well worn theme. What I am suggesting is that students conceived of societal expectations of the sexes as constricting, more or less ridiculous and thwarting of individuality, when considered in the abstract, while yet more or less readily accommodating these typifications into their own perspectives on others and into their perceptions of themself. That students needed prompting, during interviews, to bring such typifications to the surface is simply a measure of the extent to which they have been introjected and acquired the status of understandings which have become taken for granted.

This discussion of student's gender identity is based on a sample of students in Band U. Students' conceptions of themselves as masculine/feminine were also explored by means of the administration of the Bem Sex Role Inventory[1] to most students in the Band. According to the degree to which they indicated that certain words or phrases (previously defined as being socially desirable for males or for females)applied to them, students received scores on two scales - Masculinity (M) and Femininity (F). A student's score (High or Low) on one scale was independent of the score on the other[2]. Thus it is possible to define four types of gender identity, Feminine-typed (High F and Low M), Masculine typed (High M and Low F), Undifferentiated (Low F and Low M), and Androgynous (High F and High M)[3].

Allocation to one of these groups is made without reference to a student's sex-class so that among the masculine-typed one may find both those who are 'appropriately' sex-typed (i.e. boys) and those whose sex-typing is 'inappropriate' (i.e. girls); and similarly among the Feminine-typed.

Bearing in mind that definitions of appropriate gender identity may be relatively culture-specific the test was analysed separately for each of the ethnic groups so that students were defined as High or Low M and High or Low F according to the norms prevailing in their own ethnic group[4]. Table 1 sets out his information for each of the ethnic groups and for boys and girls separately.

Table 1 Gender identity of boys and girls, by ethnic group, using separate rankings for each ethnic group

		N	Masculine	Feminine	Undifferentiated	Androgynous
White British	boys	34	21	3	6	4
	girls	27	2	16	4	5
West Indian	boys	12	5	0	4	3
	girls	8	1	5	1	1
Asian	boys	18	8	0	5	5
	girls	10	0	4	3	3
Total	boys	64	34	3	15	12
	girls	47	3	27	8	9

In each ethnic group the single largest group of boys was sex-typed Masculine and the single largest group of girls was sex-typed Feminine. Altogether 61 students (55% of those who gave information) were thus 'appropriately' sex-typed, but a higher proportion of white British (39, 64%) than either Asians (12, 43%) or West Indians (10, 50%). Very few students were cross-sex typed (2 white British and one West Indian girl categorised as Masculine and 3 white British boys defined as Feminine). Almost equal proportions were defined as Androgynous (perceiving in themselves high levels of

Masculine and Feminine characteristics) and Undifferentiated (reporting low levels of M and F), with a somewhat higher proportion of Asian than other students being classified as Androgynous.

A growing number of studies (summarised in Bem 1975 and Williams, forthcoming) demonstrates that extreme sex-typing may be deleterious to an individual's mental health and ability to cope in situations requiring flexibility. It has been suggested that the androgynous individual is better equipped to cope in these and many other circumstances than either the undifferentiated or sex-typed individual. Furthermore it is suggested that the undifferentiated person is likely to be significantly lower in self-esteem than one who is androgynous (Spence et al 1975) and, among men, to be significantly less likely to disclose personal information about himself (Bem 1977; Bem et al 1976).

Assuming that the present trends do reflect differences in students' self-concepts, some interesting patterns would emerge. A high proportion of West Indian boys and Asians of both sexes (particularly in comparison with white British students) could be seen to have identities which are associated with low self-esteem (the Undifferentiated). Higher proportions of Asians and West Indian boys (both in relation to their own group and to white British students) would also be likely to have high levels of self-esteem (those who were Androgynous). This interpretation is possible, but an alternative, based on certain inherent limitations of the BSRI itself, is equally plausible. Comparing items on the BSRI with students' conceptualisations of themselves and of masculinity and femininity in general, as these emerged during interviews, it was clear that few students would spontaneously use many of the attributes incorporated into the Inventory. Their typifications were drawn from a wider pool of concepts and were in most instances a good deal livelier than those to be found on the BSRI. All students were being asked to describe themselves in terms of attributes

which were, to a greater or lesser extent foreign to them - white American middle-class conceptualisations of socially desirable characteristics of the male and female[5]. In any particular society, if the socialisation processes have been successful, one would expect the majority of males to perceive themselves as masculine and the majority of females to consider themselves feminine, according to whatever standards are used in that society to define femininity and masculinity. The fact that more white British students were 'appropriately' sex-typed according to their BSRI scores than were Asians and West Indians could then mean little more than that White British ideas of appropriate attributes for the sexes were closer than those of West Indians or Asians to white North American conceptualisations. If this were the case all students' scores on the Inventory should be treated as indicating the extent to which they subscribed to such norms of masculine and feminine attributes, rather than as close approximations to their self-concepts deriving from their sex-class. Scrutiny of students' scores would tend to support such an interpretation; ranking students from highest to lowest endorsement (i.e. taking the proportion supposedly 'appropriately' sex-typed) gives the following order - white British (64%), West Indian (50%) with Asians (43%) last. Interpreting those who scored low on both Masculinity and Femininity (the apparently Undifferentiated) as people who more or less reject white American norms gives an ordering consistent with the above ranking, with Asians being the most rejecting (29%) followed by West Indians (25%) with white British (16%) the least rejecting.

It would be inappropriate to pursue this argument further at this point[6], but I would suggest that there is some ambiguity as to the interpretation of these results. In the section which follows, students' attitudes to sex-roles and their perception of the sexes are described in order to draw out similarities and differences between Asian, West Indian andwhite British students in this area.

Students' Attitudes to Sex-Roles and Perceptions of the Sexes

It was possible to discern a number of common threads running through most students' discussions of gender and sex-class, irrespective of their own sex-class or ethnic origin. At the most basic students discussed these issues in terms of physical, personality and behavioural attributes of the sexes, so that the themes of physical size and strength, ability to look after himself and protect others and sociability emerged in relation to males; while physical size, appearance, ability to look after herself and understand others and 'personality' were major themes in relation to women.

There was universal agreement (despite much evidence to the contrary all around them) that males were both bigger and physically stronger than females. The sexes divided over the issue of relative 'mental' or emotional strength; all boys and some of the girls who were interviewed 'knew' that men were the stronger in this respect:

> (Girls are) 'not so strong physically or mentally as boys. You may hit them, it doesn't make them want to cry, but because of the situation and everything, the tension, they might cry'. (white British boy).

> 'The man would think of it (a child in a burning house) logically and says if he goes in the child will still probably be dead and he's going to get killed himself whereas a woman would just rush in without thinking'. (West Indian girl).

The only dissenters from this view were girls:

> 'Men are more stronger than women, even if they're smaller. Women are more advanced but men are more physical ... Women are more understanding, they can reason out things with you. There's only a few men that can do that, men lose their tempers'. (West Indian girl).

The neat, clean, tidy, gentle, quiet, well-dressed, well-spoken, soft, kind, graceful, poised persona of women (all concepts used by several male and female students) which distinguished them from males was accepted by most students as desirable, but there were those who considered that the greater refinement and sensibilities of women which these concepts suggest

meant that women were likely to be more 'snobbish', 'la-di-da', 'posh', 'droopy' or 'terribly "wonderful"' than men. Students' typification of women contrasted with their views that males were dominant, rough, loud, firm, well-built, masterful, and knew what they were doing. Students indicated that this sometimes meant that men were 'bossy', 'big-headed', 'pushed themselves about', too much, 'bullying' and could be 'inconsiderate', but their apparently more robust character also meant that they were both more 'sociable', 'easy to get on with', 'lively' and generally more well-liked than women. The following excerpts from interviews illustrate this:

> 'Men are usually more boisterous than girls and play about more.' (White British boy).
>
> 'Tall, handsome and everyone likes them.' (Asian boy).
>
> 'Tall, muscles ... bigheaded, very easy to get on with, sociable.' (West Indian girl).
>
> 'One who takes care of himself, can cope with any problems thrown at him. People would maybe like him as a character, not his behaviour.' (Asian boy).
>
> 'All the boys they are rough, they talk loud, they kind of enjoy themselves all the way round. They are rough and everything is lively. When you meet them everything is lively.' (West Indian boy).
>
> 'I think the average man would be more masculine than the average woman would be ... the bloke is more definite than the girl.' (White British girl).

As far as the ability to look after oneself was concerned the prevailing view was that it was desirable for both females and males to be able to do so. These trends were observed among students of all the ethnic groups studied, but although there were these common themes it was clear that students judged others as more or less feminine and as exhibiting more or less 'proper' attributes for their sex-class in the light of definitions which appeared to be related to their ethnic group membership.

> 'Coloured girls are very wild. They seem to be very masculine, but not masculine as coloureds go. I would say that most of the coloured girls could beat me up. They are physically stronger than I am and most white boys and they've got hot tempers ... Indians and Pakistanis aren't as masculine as others ... now I'm not saying that the Indians are feminine, I'm saying that they're not as masculine as other races.' (White British boy).

'Some of these Indian boys after they come to London, you see they try to change their ... they try to be like English boys, going out with so many girls and treating them badly.' (Asian girl).

'Some West Indians and some white (men) are masculine. Most of the Indian boys are a bit feminine.' (Feminine boy is one who 'let boys push him about and girls as well.') 'Some West Indian girls and some white girls are a bit masculine (defines this as 'big and husky. When someone tries to push her about she pushes them back')(West Indian boy).

'There were some women back home, they were really masculine, they had to be!' (Why?) 'Men expect them to get on with it, they had to go and fetch water, they don't have washing machines and they had really old-fashioned irons, so they can't be really careful what they do.' (West Indian girl).

'English woman just knocks a man, I don't like it, it's not really woman like, is it, and quarrelling in the streets. Moslem women are quite free now ... it's all written in the Koran, you know the role of man and woman, it's equal. Moslem men have their part in life to work and look after their families same as Moslem women, they have to look after their family as well.' (Asian girl).

In a similar way, when talking about their personal ideals regarding appropriate gender attributes, students demonstrated that their thinking was structured in terms of existing norms within their own ethnic milieu. This will be illustrated with reference to some students' typifications of the ideal woman.

'Does what she's told, obedient. She can understand what's going on, she's not so dumb as some women who just rely on their husbands. She can deal with her own problems.' (Asian boy).

'She can take care of the house well, if she had a family treat her children nicely and look after her husband properly. More lady-like - she should be good-hearted - she shouldn't be nasty. I guess her personality would be kind, as well.' (Asian girl).

'I don't like to see any girls at all who are mannish, whether in figure or anything at all, or the way they act. I don't like seeing a girl trying to be like a boy; I've nothing against tomboys or anything but I'd rather see a girl be a girl and a boy be a boy. The girls round here like to try to bully about. I don't like to see a girl like that, they are supposed to be feminine, but not too feminine. When I say feminine, I don't mean that they all have to go around posh and everything and they must never get in trouble, they must never do this, and they mustn't do that. I like to see girls get into trouble as well now and then, not be all soft and everything. They have to be tough as well.' (West Indian boy).

Finally, one of the major themes which emerged during the interviews concerned the relative freedom enjoyed by females and males. Most students

indicated that they thought being male or female brought its own attendant advantages, but in one aspect most students were agreed; that males have more freedom than women and for this reason a number of girls admitted to currently, or in the past, sometimes wishing that they were boys. Despite their perception that being female did have some advantages no boy indicated that he either currently or previously wanted to be female.

This theme of greater freedom for males is perhaps not particularly surprising in a sample of adolescents, but what is interesting is that where they attributed their lack of freedom to the restraints of other people, it emerged as the major source of argument with parents for girls in all the ethnic groups. There were some students who located the greater freedom of males in differences in personality and/or ability, as illustrated in the following excerpt from the transcript of a white British boy:

> 'I'd want to be a boy. You've got more freedom than a girl, you've got more feelings if you're a girl. It's not that they can't do it (practical things); it's that I could probably do it better.'

In this very brief survey of students' conceptualisations of gender identity and perceptions of the sexes I hope that I have indicated that, despite a certain degree of scepticism about the relevance of gender (particularly when thinking about themselves), students not only discerned differences between males and females but perceived differences that were substantially in accord with stereotypical understandings of the sexes. Their understanding of the prescriptive nature of these differences was clear and in their thinking about an abstract 'ideal' man or woman this prescriptive note also emerged as did the fact that their ideas were grounded in existing expectations of appropriate attributes for the sexes. I would also suggest that in their comments it is possible to discern an awareness that 'masculinity' is regarded as somewhat more desirable and/or interesting than femininity, an assessment which they appeared to partially endorse.

In the remainder of this chapter I shall attempt to explore the ways in

which these understandings about the sexes affected certain aspects of students' lives within school.

The Contribution Of Pupils To The Moral Climate Of School

While there has been a good deal of research in Britain documenting differences between pupils as a result of their membership of certain categories meaningful to social scientists (social class, ethnic group, convergent/divergent thinkers, etc.) it is striking that the literature concerning expectations in school is heavily weighted, in research effort, towards teachers' rather than pupils' expectations. This has become less marked as a result of some recent British researchers' conceptualisation of classroom interaction as the result of expectations of the other held by both teachers and pupils. But it still remains the case that the causes of differences between pupils in their expectations are usually attributed to pupils' membership of certain sociological or psychological categories without any reference to the meanings that students themselves attach to their membership of such groups. As another writer has observed:

> 'This lack of interest in the child's experience is one of the prominent patterns of research in the sociology of education' (Lightfoot, 1975, p.129, emphasis added).

I began this chapter by discussing students' conceptions of themselves as members of a particular sex-class and relating these self-conceptions to their attitudes towards gender attributes and their perceptions of females and males. It was argued that a relationship existed even though in their representations of their self-concepts students were careful to dissociate themselves to some extent from these stereotypical notions of appropriate gender attributes. Willis (1977) noted a very similar disjunction between the experiential meaning which their social class membership held for the white, working class, male adolescents in his study and the meaning which a middle class observer would place on it.

His work also indicates that the experiential meaning of their class membership was not always the same for all of the males in his study.

Having, in this and other chapters established that students were differentiated in ways which were meaningful both to themselves and to teachers, I shall devote the remainder of this chapter to examining students' perspectives on themselves as pupils and on teachers.

The concentration of teachers' expectations with regard to classroom interaction and its effects on pupils' behaviour, achievement and sense of self-worth appears to be based on a particular model of influence or power. The model assumes the primacy of teachers in the shaping of classroom interaction and in creating the moral climate of the school, a point also noted by Rosser and Harre (1976). It can be stated simply; teachers' behaviour towards and perceptions of pupils lead to certain kinds of behaviour on the part of pupils and also create different self-concepts among pupils who are differentially perceived. Sometimes the assumption of teacher dominance is quite clearly stated (Flanders 1970), but more often the issue of relative power is not discussed, although it may be readily inferred (Davidson and Lang 1960; King 1973; Sharp et al 1975; Thomas 1974).

I shall not argue that such a view is wrong, but rather that it is partial on two counts. In the first instance it accounts for one aspect only of an <u>interaction</u> between students' and teachers' behaviour, values, expectations and self-concepts. The other aspect may be as simply stated as the first: students' behaviour towards and perceptions of teachers may lead to particular forms of behaviour on the part of teachers and also affect the way in which teachers view themselves. Without arguing that school is necessarily central to teachers' self-concepts there is cause for believing that teachers' perceptions of their performance in their job will affect their general sense of self-worth. Insofar as students have

an effect on that performance, by contributing to a classroom climate which either enables or inhibits a teacher from succeeding in his/her own terms, they may have considerable impact on teachers' self-conceptions.

In the second instance, the emphasis on teachers' part in the development of students' sense of worth can give rise to an assumption of the primacy of school in the shaping of students' self-concept. Yet, as was discussed in the first chapter, a student's self-concept is unlikely to be derived solely or even mainly from the people and experiences encountered in school; rather those experiences will be understood and interpreted in the light of existing notions about the self. The impact of teachers' and other pupils' opinions will thus vary according to the degree of importance or relevance which any student attaches to school in general and to his/her status as a pupil in particular. As Gannaway (1976) has pointed out:

> ' ... the use of the word 'pupil' denotes a category which may not be meaningful to the 'pupils'. It is certainly a word that one seldom hears used by young people in schools. Perhaps the majority of young people are not interested in stressing their membership of the school as a group and along with this their particular status in that group.' (Gannaway, 1976, p.48).

My work at Torville would confirm that the status of pupil was not a central component of students' social identities. To suggest that it was not meaningful does not mean that they were unaware of what constituted a 'good' or 'bad' pupil. The fact that being a pupil was not central to students' self-concepts in general nor to their gender identity in particular is in itself an interesting finding with regard to the question of how much sex mattered in school, particularly in the light of the evidence, already set out, that students' classroom behaviour and academic achievements could be seen to be structured by their sex-class. Nor did the relative irrelevance to students of their status as pupils mean that they remained passive with regard to classroom relationships. As a following section

indicates there was considerable evidence at Torville that students attempted to influence teachers' behaviour within the classroom.

Thus, to briefly summarise the perspective adopted in this chapter, the expectations of one group or individual are affected by and simultaneously affect those of another group or individual. This applies to teachers as well as pupils so that the moral climate of the school is created by the interactions and mutually influencing values, beliefs and attitudes of both pupils and teachers.

Despite the relative lack of published evidence, it is possible to summarise how pupils' expectations influence teachers' behaviour and achievement in very similar vein to that already proposed in Chapter 6 for teachers' expectations of their pupils. Thus, pupils have values and beliefs, some or all of which are taken into the classroom. Pupils act on these beliefs in various circumstances, including in the classroom; they are expressed in the classroom in their attitude towards and expectations of teachers, other pupils and classroom behaviour in a general sense.

While it is almost certainly true that teachers as a group or individually have more official power and sanctions than any pupil or pupils collectively, it is also the case that pupils are not entirely powerless in classroom interactions. In certain circumstances pupils acting collectively may have considerable power to challenge the teacher's perspective or even to impose their own (Nash 1974). However, such clear instances of influence may be relatively rare, because as Delamont (1976b) points out it is more useful to conceive of classroom interaction in terms of Strauss' (1964) notion of 'negotiation':

> 'The classroom relationship of teacher and pupils is seen as a joint act - a relationship that works, and is about doing work. The interaction is understood as the daily 'give-and-take' between teacher and pupils. The process is one of <u>negotiation</u> - an ongoing process by which everyday realities of the classroom are constantly defined and redefined'. (Delamont, 1976b, p.25. Original emphasis.).

Reynolds (1976) also recognises these processes and suggests that depending on their outcome it may be possible to discern the existence of 'truces' between pupil and teacher which enable the continuation of classroom interaction, despite differences in values in many areas.

If it is accepted that pupils' values may form part of the moral climate of the school, this does not rest on an assumption of one shared set of pupils' values. It was argued in an earlier chapter that such a monolithic group of values was unlikely to be discerned among teachers, even in relation that which they all have in common, viz. the teaching enterprise. It is even less likely that the pupil body will share a common set of values and expectations, except possibly in relation to that which they share - their status as 'pupils' in a particular school. Pupils in the state education system are not self-selected to the extent that their teachers are and thus one would expect that the student body would be more or less differentiated in terms of expectations, values, self-concept etc. according to their location in the wider social system, quite apart from any differentiation that occurs as a result of differing experiences in school. Pupils will have undergone some form of socialisation or training into the role of 'pupil' during their time at school. The extant literature is not much guide in indicating how far such socialisation pressures are successful in creating a set of shared meanings among pupils, nor in suggesting to what extent any meanings shared within school are transferred to other contexts.

Students' Classroom Values

For the moment I shall concentrate on those values which are most clearly related to classroom interaction with teachers and which can be seen as part of students' attempts to introduce their own perspectives into

the enterprise at hand - which students at Torville denoted as 'learning' or perhaps more tellingly, 'being taught things'. These values may, as a parallel to teachers' teaching values, be described as students' classroom values.

The 'good' pupil

Among students' values and beliefs it is possible to discern a concept of a 'good pupil' - which may or may not accord with teachers' ideas about such matters. Similarly, they will have ideas about what they expect of themselves in the classroom, along such dimensions as to the extent of their active or passive participation, withdrawal, having 'fun', wanting to work, etc. A teacher whose classroom behaviour permits or encourages a pupil to be successful in whatever terms s/he (the pupil) has defined success is more likely to be seen as satisfying to the pupil than one whose behaviour inhibits the pupil from succeeding in his/her own terms.

Both boys and girls at Torville typified in essentially the same way the behaviour which they believed would be perceived by teachers as indicative of a 'good' pupil. This behaviour was conceived as transcending sex-class in the sense that what was expected applied equally to males and females. Students' typifications of the 'good' and 'bad' were substantially in accord with those of teachers (as set out in Chapter 6) and among those who were interviewed it emerged that students had a reasonably accurate perception of teachers' assessments of them as pupils. There were, though, some who believed their present reputation was no longer deserved; they thought that their recent efforts at 'reformation' (less frequently playing truant or 'mucking about' for example) had not been sufficiently rapidly recognised.

From this I infer that students at Torville believed that it was possible

to affect teachers' assessments of them through a process which Sharp et al (1975) have called 'impression management', that is by presenting to teachers a certain combination of behaviour and attitudes inside and outside the classroom, notably, working hard ('trying') and not being 'childish' in their relations with teachers. Several students who were interviewed said that teachers' perceptions of them had undergone changes during the student's time at Torville. Such changes were not always in the direction of an improvement which students themselves sometimes indicated mirrored changes in their own behaviour over the relevant period of time. All of this seems to indicate a degree of consensus both among pupils and between students and teachers in the definition of a good pupil.

The fact that some students worked harder at establishing a reputation as a good pupil may be related to differences in 'knowledge' about what constituted a good pupil and how to go about establishing that reputation. Some worked 'too hard' and although they had the requisite work habits to be deemed good, over-emphasised the necessity for also <u>appearing</u> good and were consequently perceived as 'arse-greasers' by teachers. On the whole, students also mildly disapproved of those whose efforts in this direction were considered too studied or unsubtle.

On the other hand success as a pupil was possibly less important to some students' self-image than to others'. For example, West Indian girls were in the main concerned to succeed academically, but did not count as particularly important being perceived by teachers in a highly favourable light. Among similar white British girls and Asian students of both sexes more did seem to value a high reputation with teachers. Thus not all highly aspiring students could be said to be, in Willis' (1977) term 'ear'oles', conformists hanging upon teachers' evaluations ofthem for a sense of self-worth. If West Indian girls did not actively court a good reputation many West Indian boys and white British boys and some white British girls gave

the appearance of actively shunning such a reputation. Subsequently, during interviews a number of them indicated that they did not feel they had the (academic) ability to attempt to be seen as a good pupil or suspected that teachers would not now notice even if they tried. Nevertheless, many students did not rank a good reputation high among their priorities. On the other hand very few considered a reputation as a Bad pupil to be a general asset for the pragmatic reason that they might need school references when searching for a job.

Perhaps it is fair to conclude that the status of pupil was 'meaningless' in the sense proposed by Gannaway precisely because students perceived it as a universal status with invariable requirements unrelated to sex-class, ethnic group or social class membership, and only altering slightly with age. To the extent that students believed ability to 'try' was dependent on 'natural' intellectual capacity it may be that aiming to be a good pupil was conceived as possible only for a proportion and not all students. Therefore, 'being a pupil' could not express for many students their felt sense of uniqueness or at least difference from others. To say that one is a pupil does not set one apart from any of the other young people in school; to believe one is perceived as a particular kind of pupil only sets one apart from some others who are seen differently, but at Torville, it did not seem to sufficiently indicate for most students what they 'really' were. There was little evidence that students craved to be seen as good pupils, or even greatly desired the good opinion of teachers, though many more could see some advantages, in terms of their future plans, of at least avoiding 'getting a bad reputation'.

The 'good' teacher

In order to document students' contribution to classroom interaction and their perspectives on school, it is not sufficient to understand their

perception of the good pupil in isolation from their notion of a 'good' teacher. As was the case with both students' and teachers' concept of a good pupil, these views are incorporated into rather generalised prescriptions and proscriptions, leaving a large element of latitude to the individual provided that conformity to the essentials could be demonstrated. Thus other researchers have noted that pupils prefer teachers who 'can teach' and keep order in the classroom (Evans 1962; Furlong 1976; Gannaway 1976; Nash 1974; Taylor 1962; Torode 1976; Werthman 1963); who are fair and show no favouritism (Musgrove and Taylor 1969) and who are cheerful (Woods 1975).

There was nothing to suggest that students in Band U at Torville held particularly idiosyncratic views about what constituted a good teacher and for this reason I shall not set these out in detail. It should be noted that students differentially perceived by teachers (i.e. as Good, Bad, etc.) did not differ in their views as to the desirable qualities in teachers, nor were there any striking differences between girls and boys or between Asian, white British and West Indian students in this respect. This does not mean that all students necessarily agreed in their assessments of which of their teachers was good, but only that there was a measure of consensus about the dimensions along which teachers could be judged. For example, a larger proportion of West Indian students (British born and immigrant) than either white British or Asians deemed a larger proportion of their teachers 'soft', specifically comparing them with teachers in the Caribbean who were thought to be more competent at forcing or coaxing students to learn. Pupils' perceptions of their teachers are discussed here because it is believed that students' values about the good teacher in general and the extent to which any particular teacher is seen as measuring up to these standards may affect a teacher's ability to succeed in the classroom (Geer 1968; Morrison and MacIntyre 1969; Nash 1973). For example, pupils may make

greater allowances for one particular or a group of teachers whom they believe or know are 'nicer' or 'better' teachers while being less tolerant of others whom they value less highly (Gannaway 1976). Students at Torville were aware of this when they volunteered that with one young male biology teacher:

> 'We didn't give him a chance. From the first lesson ... we didn't like him((imitates his highly mimickable voice)) ... yes, and he dictates notes too fast. I think he's alright ((protests from the other girls)). He's alright. He never had a chance once we got going' ((laughs)). (Valerie, British girl; Good pupil; class background - father manual, mother non-manual).

As others have pointed out, pupils 'socialize teachers into certain behaviors' (Lightfoot, 1975, p.136). In this particular instance, Lightfoot was discussing the way in which children enter school already displaying stereotyped gender identities so that male and female pupils 'demand' different treatment. But in a more direct sense students may attempt to socialise teachers into the kind of behaviour which they (students) consider to be appropriate for teachers. Nash considers that this is a somewhat neglected feature of social scientists' analysis of pupil-teacher relations:

> 'Although there have been investigations of the qualities pupils like to see in their teachers, the analysis has rarely been carried beyond the level of simple description ... ' His findings 'become more interesting when it is understood that (they) are not merely a description of children's likes and dislikes about teachers, but are a formulation of the rules of conduct which they lay down for them ... these attitudes and expectations become norms'. (Nash 1974, pp. 47-48: emphasis added).

Evidence of any relationship between pupils' expectations and teachers' performance and self-evaluations is scarce, although Brandt (1971) and Emmer et al (1971) suggest that some such relationship does exist. Jenkins and Deno (1969) report an experiment in which senior teaching students delivered a lecture to second year undergraduates who had been instructed to behave interested (take notes, look excited, and so on) or uninterested. Lecturers with an 'interested' audience thought that the audience had learnt more and evaluated their own performance as a lecturer more highly than

those whose lecture had been delivered to an 'uninterested' audience, thus suggesting that teachers, sensitive to cues from their audience and feeling themselves more effective when that audience appears interested may be reinforced for behaviour of which pupils demonstrate their approval and discouraged from continuing in behaviour which students dislike.

Klein (1971) reports a similar type of experiment, in which by pre-arrangement students altered their behaviour in a lecture and the teaching style of the same lecturer was noted. When they were particularly attentive the lecturer was much warmer towards them whereas when they behaved badly (yawning, whispering, gazing out of the window) the lecturer became critical in tone towards them. Nash (1974) drawing on his own research describes a classroom situation in which pupils' expectations of their teacher became a self-fulfilling prophecy:

> ' ... pupils appreciate the teacher who can make his lessons flow and knows how to put the subject across in a way that makes sense. They do not like the teacher who continually interrupts the lesson to put what often appear as disruptive questions. Lessons which are disturbed and difficult to understand are perceived as boring ... the pupils' perception of a teacher as boring and uninteresting does alter their behaviour. And because the pupils' behaviour changes, so does that of the teacher. If a teacher's lessons are always the same the pupils become bored; therefore they talk or mess about, the teacher interrupts the flow of the lesson to quieten them, her exhortations prove ineffectual, the pupils perceive her as 'soft', and so on'. (Nash, 1974, p.53).

In a class in which teachers and pupils have been together over a long period of time it may be very difficult for an outsider to discern these socialisation processes on the part of either students or teachers. Their perceptions of each other and their modus vivendi will have become relatively settled and hence the articulation of normative expectations that much more oblique and less frequent (Walker and Adelman, 1976). They will be most visible, I would suggest, when teachers and pupils first come together in the classroom. It was suggested in an earlier chapter that students at Torville appeared to value a certain degree of distance between

themselves and the teacher, at least during classroom contacts, and believed that teachers should behave in a relatively impersonal way, that is, that they should refrain from making reference to their own life and experiences. This was noted in the first instance at Torville in classes in which the students and teacher had been unknown (within the classroom) to each other until the beginning of the school year in which my fieldwork began. Subsequent observation in more well-established teaching groups nevertheless confirmed this inference concerning distance between teacher and pupil. It was by no means the only, but a very important, dimension to students' expectations concerning 'good' teacher behaviour. It did not seem to require that all students exerted pressure on the teacher, but only that other students acquiesce.

At Torville self-disclosure by a teacher with whom they were unfamiliar appeared to encourage pupils to feel that they could legitimately comment to the teacher about his/her personal appearance (clothes, accent, paralinguistic features) at any stage of a lesson, but particularly at inappropriate moments when the comments would have maximum effect - in terms of either teacher discomfort or disruption of classroom order. The tone of these comments was one of more or less concealed ridicule, which is interpreted here as students' means of demonstrating to the teacher that s/he had flouted the norm of impersonality. The value placed on this meant that pupils expected those who did not conform to be poorer teachers than those who remained impersonal. On the whole distance between themselves and teachers within the classroom was valued in itself although there were instances in which a well-liked teacher might be tolerated for engaging in self-disclosure.

The following account attempts to demonstrate some of the classroom consequences of one particular teacher's apparent lack of awareness of this norm against self-disclosure. The data are drawn from notes made during

lessons several months apart but involving the same teacher with the same group of students. The excerpts from lessons have been edited, although comments given in inverted commas are verbatim transcriptions of what was said. The main protagonists were Mr. M. (the teacher), Richard, Barry, and Colin. To set the account into some context, brief details are given about all four.

Mr. M. was a young college-trained graduate in the second year of teaching at Torville, and with some years' experience of teaching in further education. At Torville he taught history and social studies.

Richard: white British; social class - father manual, mother non-manual; seen as a Bad pupil (low aspiring and low achieving); BSRI categorisation Androgynous.

Barry: white British; social class - father manual, mother non-manual; seen as an Unobtrusive pupil (high aspiring and high achieving); BSRI categorisation Androgynous.

Colin: white British; social class - father manual, mother non-manual; seen as Conspicuous (high aspiring); BSRI categorisation Masculine.

Early in the Autumn term of fieldwork, during a social studies lesson on job satisfactions, Mr. M. mentioned the boring factory jobs he had done during his student days. Boys in the class, particularly Richard, took this as a signal to ask the teacher a number of personal questions unrelated to this information, e.g. 'did you live with your mum?', 'who did your washing?', 'where did you come from?' (the teacher had a noticeable regional accent). These questions were answered, although Mr. M. seemed slightly puzzled. Observing the lesson, I noted that the tone of the questions was slightly hectoring and sneering. Several weeks later, this time in a history lesson, Richard called out a comment about Mr. M.'s jacket, and later in the same lesson Barry, quite out of the blue, called out, 'Sir, do you still send your washing up to Derby?'. Mr. M. smiled in embarassment,

but ignored the question. Colin, sensing the mood of the lesson, called out to Mr. M., 'Be articulate. Speak clearly' and, far from being reprimanded for this comment, was rewarded by Mr. M.'s raising his voice slightly as he dictated notes. All three boys had been at the previously mentioned social studies lesson.

Much later, during the Spring term, I made the following observations of a social studies lesson with this same class: Students are supposed to be working on a project about 'an activity to do with holidays'. Andrew (white British), Pauline and Malcolm (both West Indian) have not brought their work. Mr. M. sets them to write an essay entitled 'Yesterday Evening' to explain why they haven't brought their project. Neither Pauline nor Malcolm makes any attempt to do this. 'Jimmy'[7], an Asian boy, arrives at the lesson late. Mr. M. makes no comment. Teacher moves about the classroom inspecting work and talking to pupils. Darryl (white British) tries unsuccessfully to attract the teacher's attention with a question about the work in hand. Richard calls, 'Sir. Over here a minute. I need some moral support.' Mr. M. comes to Richard's desk and is engaged in a discussion about hanging which Richard had been having with Andrew. Mr. M. moves away and gets involved in another discussion about encouraging troops to disaffection and the penalties for this, initiated by Barry. Colin meanwhile says out loud, 'Attack Pakistan.' Malcolm, all this time, is sitting writing on the desk as he stares at his blank sheet of paper. Richard calls to Mr. M., 'What would you change in your life if you were fifty again?', followed quickly by, 'When did you last see your cobblers?', a double-entendre, certainly, but also a reference to Mr. M.'s dishevelled shoes and his reference many weeks before to having worked in a shoe factory. Richard is told, 'Don't be silly and get on with your project'. However, he perseveres with, 'What did you do when you left school?' and, while Mr. M. grudgingly gives a brief factual account, Colin leaps over a desk, goes to

a box at the front of the classroom, takes two very large rolls of sellotape, comes back noisily, puts one roll in his pocket and plays with the other. Mr. M. makes no comment. Disruption of the remainder of the lesson is accomplished by Richard asking, 'Were you on the walk yesterday?' (a reference to a Right to Work demonstration) which is bait - Richard sees Mr. M. as too left wing. Mr. M. answers, 'What do you think?'. The class dissolves into shouts - too disorganised to make proper notes. The tenor is of conscious right-wing attitudinising by the students - 'scroungers, lazy layabouts, they could get jobs if they wanted', and such like. Among all this, two Asian girls have continued to work on their project; one objects out loud to being asked to do her project in chapters, and her angry comment, 'chapters is only in stories books' goes unheard by the teacher, and is an incongruous intrusion in the circumstances.

Most of the lessons taught by this teacher, which I observed, were similarly chaotic. The pupils' norm of impersonality was in direct conflict with this teacher's own concept of telling pupils about his own experience and values as a means of demonstrating his willingness to be open, and approachable. Having transgressed the pupils' norm, this particular teacher was considered not a proper or competent teacher. Students attributed to him an inability to spell or dictate notes properly. Veronica, a mild and inconspicuous girl, said during an interview:

> 'There's one teacher I don't like, the history teacher, and he doesn't know how to spell properly for a teacher. He tries to dictate, and everybody's talking, and he repeats it over and over again, and then sometimes you get a sentence about two or three times, and then when he repeats it again he says something completely different.' (White British; Social Class, manual; seen as a Bad pupil (high aspiring, low achieving): BSRI categorisation: Androgynous).

While it was true that Mr. M. often resorted to dictation as an attempt to regain control of a class, subsequent verbatim accounts of his dictated notes were compared with those of other teachers' classroom dictations, and no real difference between his and theirs could be discerned. This

attribution of incompetence left the teacher open to being 'played up'. The form this took was to manipulate Mr. M.'s perceived 'weakness' (i.e. his willingness to disclose information about himself) to disrupt what students saw already as 'bad lessons'. Students' expectations that Mr. M. was a bad teacher became, through their actions, self-confirmatory. Mr. M. was known as the Great Dictator, a telling and wry recognition by pupils of the various processes which have been set out above.

It is somewhat easier for pupils to know their teachers - as teachers - than for teachers to know all pupils intimately, but even so much of pupils' knowledge will be based on inferences drawn from aspects of the teacher's personal front - dress, age, accent, marital status, sex and mannerisms (Walker and Adelman 1975). Such knowledge structures the pupils' relationship to the teacher and may thereby affect the teacher's performance. Knowledge of the teacher, whether based on an initial impression or grounded in more extensive contact in the classroom itself sets up expectations about the teachers' attitudes and behaviour.

It was suggested that pupils may be just as likely as teachers to predict underlying characteristics from outward appearances. One specific aspect of the teacher's personal front which appears to be salient to pupils, not only at Torville, is his/her marital status. Following Rayner (1966) one writer discussing the all-girls school in which she conducted her research suggests that:

> 'Among girls, clear perspectives exist about marital status and classroom performance, which can be summarised in the comment: 'She's married and usually a married one has more understanding'. Another girl suggested to me that married teachers 'tend to be more sort of placid and not get all angry' ... Indeed I would argue that the unmarried (female) teacher is stigmatized'. (Delamont 1976b, p.79).

From the complete absence of comments among the boys at Torville, it would appear that this feature of a teacher's personal front was of more interest to the girls, who did not confine their interest only to women teachers. During the discussion quoted earlier where Valerie was describing her own and other pupils' treatment of a young male teacher it emerged that

some of them knew he was to be married in the Christmas holiday and that this knowledge was sufficient to cause some of the girls present at the discussion to say that they might have been mistaken in their earlier evaluation of the teacher; 'perhaps he is alright, then' as one of them suggested. However, it should not be assumed that the marital status of teachers was an issue of burning interest to the girls - in a mixed school with a mixed staff, marital status was only one of the many facets of teachers personal life and appearance which were of interest to students in their attempts to understand their teaching behaviour. It would be more accurate to say that, as when they were thinking of their own future lives girls rather assumed that at some stage they would marry, so, similarly, most teachers once they had reached a certain age or status in the school hierarchy could be expected to be married. The following extract from an interview with Beverley, while being unusual in two respects - marital status being spontaneously mentioned, and this student being one of the very few who said that they took a teacher as a role model - illustrates the assumption of the normality of the married state for an admired senior teacher. The teacher in question was unmarried and in her late thirties; she had been appointed to one of the more senior positions in the school about two years prior to the interview with Beverley, but had previously been teaching at Torville for someyears. I asked Beverley, 'What is it about Miss G. that you admire?'. She replied as follows:

> 'Because she's a careers woman. She succeeded in life at a time in her days when women were expected to sit around ... she rebelled against that and she's got what she wanted, got her own car, got her own flat, completely independent, goes where she likes when she likes, she's got her own money, you know, she's well paid. And now she's succeeded and got what she wants out of life, she's getting married - everything has kind of worked out for her'. (Beverley: British born of Jamaican parents, both of whom had manual jobs; seen as a Bad pupil (high aspiring: BSRI categorisation, Androgynous).

In none of the lessons taught by this teacher in which I participated

did the teacher ever disclose details of her out of school life. Despite this Beverley's inferences are substantially correct with the notable exception of Miss G.'s intentions to get married! Neither at that time nor in the two years since had this teacher any desire or plans to marry. Here was an example of a pupil attributing positive characteristics (marriage had a positive value for Beverley who had said earlier in the interview 'don't really want to spend the whole of my life as a spinster or something like that') in order to bring a disconsonant aspect of the teacher's personal front into line with the pupil's positive evaluation of the teacher.

Miss G.'s plans for marriage were supposition on Beverley's part - such a well-liked teacher - 'she can be very serious and hard-working but at the same time she can be good fun, you see', and such a direct model for the student herself - ought to be married, she did not seem to be part of that class known as spinsters. Obviously, at one level, this conversation reveals as much about Beverley's own value system and future plans, but it also illustrates the process by which new 'knowledge' can be generated from existing knowledge and can serve to legitimate an existing evaluation of another person. This is by no means a peculiar feature of an adolescent's fevered imagination, but a further illustration of how the process of attribution and, in some cases, of self-fulfilling hypotheses is built up. It also, incidentally, provides one example where a pupil's expectations of her teacher did not affect that teacher's behaviour!

Students' Perception Of Male And Female Teachers At Torville

In the present study I was particularly interested to discover what, if any differences, students perceived between female and male teachers. Dale (1969) in a large survey of pupils at mixed and single-sex schools obtained considerably different typifications of male and female teachers,

typifications which both female and male pupils appeared to share. Women teachers were described as petty, spiteful, catty, over-strict, aloof, unfriendly and distant. In contrast, men were seen as impartial, relaxed, pleasant, having a more natural and friendly relationship with pupils and more likely than women to have a good sense of humour. However, boys describing male teachers at all-boys' schools had a less positive view, describing teachers as 'tyrants', 'petty dictators' and the like[8].

A teacher's sex-class did not emerge at Torville as one of the main spontaneous means of discriminating between teachers; impartiality, friendliness, strictness, interest in the students 'as people', ability to teach, trust, 'old-fashioned' ideas, ability to bolster students' confidence, political leanings, helpfulness, being understanding, making the subject interesting, vindictiveness, 'putting down' students in front of the class, encouraging students to voice their opinion, and the opposites (or absence) of these were all mentioned in relation to particular teachers of both sexes, or in response to questions about the type of teacher they liked or disliked. When asked (during formal interviews or in informal discussions) whether these characteristics seemed to be more common among some types of teacher, students mentioned teachers' age and the subject taught much more frequently than teachers' sex-class. It was obvious that students made their generalisations in relation to the teachers who were currently teaching them, so that several when prompted about sex-class considered themselves unqualified to make the comparison because they were taught only by males that year. They believed that teachers' treatment of pupils differed according to pupils' age so that their experience of female teachers, dating from previous school years could not be legitimately compared with their current experience of male teachers. In practice, most students did not make generalisations (other than between liked and disliked teachers) unless they were specifically prompted.

Gannaway (1976) notes that students preferred teachers whose lessons involved a variety of tasks (and especially 'discussion') to those whose lessons involved merely 'working', that is, writing. This was associated in students' minds with certain school subjects, with English and English teachers being particularly well-liked. In the school which he describes English teachers were predominantly young and female, so that his finding that women teachers were especially favoured by students for their perceived ability to keep control, to be interesting and to understand students is in marked contrast to Dale's (1969) findings but consonant with those of Good et al (1973).

It will be remembered that at Torville many school subjects were taught predominantly by one of the sexes, so that in differentiating between teachers on the basis of subject taught students were also in many cases differentiating between male and female teachers. With the exception of cookery and needlework, subjects taught by women were preferred by students of both sexes who took them to those which they took which were predominantly 'male' subjects. This more positive image of female-taught subjects was to some extent shared even by students (e.g. science specialists) who were taking predominantly 'male' subjects.

Paradoxically, though, the few students who did differentiate between teachers, specifically in response to prompting, typified female and male teachers in very much the same way as Dale's students. Favourable towards actual female teachers and their teaching subjects students responded to the concept of women teachers in a more derogatory way than to the idea of male teachers. This suggests that such questions tap general stereotypes about the sexes rather than about teachers. From their responses it can be inferred that students subscribed to the less favourable image of women which, as argued in chapter 1, prevails in our society. While individual women teachers might redeem themselves by teaching 'female' subjects the

underlying assessment of women is not challenged. The combination of female sex-class and 'male' teaching subject may lead to a particularly negative evaluation among students. The comparable combination for male teachers of male sex-class and 'female' teaching subject may produce a particularly positive evaluation among students.

This chapter has indicated that students' own self-concept and thinking about teachers owed much to their conceptualisations about appropriate gender attributes, though not always in the most obvious or predictable ways. I would conclude that, wherever they have learnt these conceptions about the sexes, students bring to their thinking about school life in general and to their classroom interactions in particular, understandings about the sexes which in many features are consonant with those of their teachers.

Notes

1. The development of the BSRI is reported in Bem (1974). A copy of the scale, as administered to students at Torville, and a list of items defined as Masculine, Feminine and Neutral may be found in Appendix III.

2. Full details of scoring procedures are contained in Bem and Watson (1976).

3. This follows the suggestion for scoring put forward by Spence et al (1975) and subsequently adopted by the author of the test (Bem 1977).

4. The scoring of the test requires the definition of High and Low M and High and Low F to be made in terms of norms for the sample under study, rather than comparing the sample with some notional 'objective' level for High or Low M or F. The advantage of this is that students in each of the three ethnic groups could be allocated to one of the gender identity types according to the norms prevailing among peers in their own ethnic group. This does not, however, avoid the major problem that items have been designated socially desirable for males or for females according to North American conceptualisations of appropriate gender behaviour and characteristics.

5. Bem states that 'because the BSRI was founded on a conception of the sex-typed person as someone who has internalised society's standards of desirable behavior for men and women ... personality characteristics were selected as masculine or feminine on the basis of sex-typed social desirability and not on the basis of differential endorsement by males and females'. (Bem 1974, p.155).

6. I have begun to explore these questions further elsewhere; see Fuller 1977.

7. This particular boy was always addressed (apparently from preference) by both teachers and other students by an English first name. All other Asian students in Band U were addressed by teachers by their full first name, although some used a diminutive version with other students.

8. See Dale, 1969, chapter 6.

Chapter 11

Summary Conclusions

I began by suggesting that the most fruitful way to extend our currently rather poor sociological understandings of sex-class was to study its meanings within a relatively limited, concrete setting. The present study does not address itself to documenting in detail how the meanings attached to sex-class (that is evaluations of the sexes and conceptions of appropriate/inappropriate attributes for males and females)have specifically developed among the students and teachers who were studied. In the first chapter I set out the ways in which gender identity first develops and suggested that these early understandings about the self and others would provide the basis for an individual's thinking about sex and gender in him or herself and a baseline from which to understand the sex-class and gender attributes of others. The study has aimed to represent as clearly and faithfully as possible teachers' and students' conceptions and evaluations of females and males as these were observed in one school at a particular historical period. As such, the study provides an account of the relationship between an individual student's self-concept as masculine/feminine and his/her typifications and perceptions of the sexes; and a comparison of these understandings in teachers and students during a brief period in what is a continuing process. By the time students have reached their fifth year in secondary school, their understandings about sex-class and gender will reflect meanings acquired from a variety of sources and experiences. It would therefore be futile to try to apportion responsibility for the conceptualisations held to any one influence or cause. For this reason I have tried to give equal consideration to the understandings in this area of both teachers and pupils without any prior assumption of the primacy of one in what I have called the moral climate of the school.

As a result of my research it is possible to briefly summarise Torville school as a setting in which sex-class mattered in a variety of more or less subtle ways. Relations within school were in certain respects officially organised around the sex-class of students, as in the provision of separate facilities for the exclusive use of females or males; or in requirements that males and females participate in school life according to their sex-class, as in the wearing of different school uniform, segregated queuing, and engaging in sex-differentiated sporting and athletic activities. For what would be seen as essentially pragmatic administrative reasons the organisation of teaching often differentiated between the sexes and introduced a greater degree of sex-segregation than these official requirements would necessitate. It should not be inferred that differentiation between the sexes formed part of a conscious official policy in Torville that girls and boys be educated differently. As I argued earlier, despite individually expressed concern about sex-role stereotyping in education, there was no discernible official policy regarding sex-class at Torville whether it be one which set out to produce differences between the sexes or self-consciously aimed to reduce them. King (1973) notes this absence among the headteachers of various schools whom he surveyed.

It can also be seen that males and females enjoyed somewhat different statuses within the school. Despite almost equal numbers of female and male teachers, males were accorded greater status than females. Significantly larger proportions of men had been appointed to the senior posts of responsibility in the school hierarchy. Male and female teachers typically taught different subjects and it was argued that the official value placed on subjects taught by men was higher than 'female' subjects, in the sense that subjects considered to be sufficiently important that all students were required to study them were more likely to be taught by males, whereas 'female' subjects were more likely to be presented to

students as relatively peripheral to the basic core of their education. Moreover since significantly fewer women taught exclusively or partly in the senior part of the school, where women did teach the same subject as men they were more likely to be teaching it to younger students. There is reason for believing that higher status accrues to teaching older than younger pupils. A rather similar picture emerges with regard to the location of students within the fifth year. Because of the differential evaluations of 'academic' and 'practical' subjects held by both teachers and students it is reasonable to suggest that students attempting a large proportion of 'academic' subject enjoyed greater status and were the recipients of higher expectations generally from their teachers than those attempting a predominantly 'practical' or vocational course. Significantly larger proportions of girls were found in the 'practical' Band, while boys outnumbered girls by approximately 2:1 in the more 'academic' Band.

The differential evaluation of females and males of this sort was in many instances consistent with students' own typifications of the sexes. In discussing male and female teachers in the abstract, students claimed to perceive and expect differences of a kind which indicated that males were 'nicer', fairer, more friendly and interested, while females were thought of as inclined to be more nasty, jealous of the girls and less friendly generally.

So far the trends discerned are all of a piece and suggest that sex-differentiation in Torville consistently favoured the male, so that it would be feasible to designate Torville Upper (where the research was located) as androcentric - numerically predominantly male and displaying a higher evaluation of male sex-class and things male.

If all the trends were in this direction the present thesis would make depressing reading and would serve only to replicate previous researchers' findings. But there were contrasting trends to the somewhat

conventional and stereotyped understandings described so far. Using a method of analysis which confirmed much previous research, that teachers differentially perceived some ethnic minority pupils and those from manual and non-manual backgrounds, I was nevertheless unable to demonstrate any systematic evidence of bias on the part of teachers in their assessment of male and female students. Nor did teachers apparently translate their verbalised understandings concerning differences between the sexes into unwarranted differential treatment of female and male pupils. There was very little evidence that students perceived teachers as discriminating unfairly between the sexes. With regard to students, their expressed sentiments about male and female teachers in the abstract were at variance with their assessment of actual female teachers. Students indicated their preference for teachers of particular subjects which, at Torville, tended to be taught predominantly by women, so that in practice students' assessments of teachers were less derogatory towards female teachers than their abstract typifications.

In one other respect the thesis has uncovered an interesting relationship between students' self-conceptions and their beliefs and values concerning sex-appropriate attributes considered in abstract. While all those who were asked quite literally took it for granted that they were 'appropriately' sex-typed and were also able to accurately reproduce stereotypical notions about gender appropriate attributes, the implications of this for the wider self-concept of females and males would appear to be different. It does not perhaps need much explaining why, if 'masculine' attributes were perceived generally as having higher value than 'feminine' ones, boys should be more or less comfortable in perceiving themselves as 'masculine'. More girls dissociated themselves from societal definitions of femininity, while yet typifying themselves as 'feminine'. While I did not use any standardised measure for establishing this, I could not discern

any evidence that girls suffered from lower self-esteem than boys, although something of the sort might have been predicted from their acceptance of the less valued label 'feminine' as an accurate typification of their gender identity. The reasons for this lie in certain of their understandings about gender. As indicated in an earlier chapter students considered that in one sense the only requirement for being masculine or feminine was to be of the relevant sex-class. My inference from this and discussions with some of the students is that any differences in evaluation emanating from a person's sex-class were not regarded as reflecting any personal credit or discredit. Whether other people thought so or not girls 'knew' they were the equal of boys, as indeed was the case in terms of the within school indices such as academic achievement which have been discussed earlier.

I believe that the present study has established that sex-class mattered in school - in understanding the structure and organisation of relations between males and females, and in analysing the status of teachers and pupils. But, more importantly, I hope that it has also indicated some of the circumstances and processes by which sex-class becomes meaningful in a school.

Studies of the present type are subject to a number of potential pitfalls, notably that it is not always possible for accurate judgements of their validity and generalisability because data is provided in such a way that an internally consistent and relatively encapsulated picture is presented. I have attempted to avoid this and a related danger - pre-judging the importance of sex-class for an understanding of within-school processes by the use of constant comparisons.

I have tried to describe the school - both pupils and teachers as well as certain aspects of its organisation - as precisely as possible so that it may be compared with other schools. Throughout the thesis, wherever it has been possible to do so, I have related what was observed at Torville

to available national statistics and trends and with other researchers' work in a variety of schools and in studies undertaken during several years before the present work began. In many respects - daily organisation, rules and regulations, proportions and status of male and female teachers, students' choice of school subjects, typifications of female and male teachers, sex composition of subject Departments, for example - Torville emerges as unremarkable and certainly not strikingly different from what is known about other mixed comprehensive schools in Britain. For this reason I am as confident as it is possible to be in the circumstances that the patterns discerned and inferences drawn may have relevance for schools other than the specific one in this study. Much of the information in this thesis has been based on analysis of material which is readily available to teachers and researchers in school - year and individual timetables for students and teachers, staff, form and set lists, school rules and regulations, school reports on pupils and the like. It should be relatively easy, using the straightforward forms of analysis employed in this thesis to check to what extent the patterns described at Torville are reproduced in other schools.

In order to understand the salience of sex-class within Torville I considered it necessary not only to set the discussion within a full description of the school itself, but to approach the issue in comparison with other socially meaningful categorisations (social class and ethnic group membership). The constant comparison of sex-class with at least one of these other categorisations has allowed some assessment of the relative salience of each in any particular aspect of the school being discussed. By these means I hope not only to have established that sex-class can be seen to matter in one school, but also to have illuminated how, and in comparison with other aspects of a person's social identity. The introduction of these other categories into the analysis demonstrates

that the articulation of sex-class with social class or ethnicity is often rather complex. In order to present that complexity the presentation has not always been as brief or decisive as might seem desirable. It has also incidentally called into question the generalisability of studies in school, which have failed to build in a consideration of students' or teachers' sex-class when analysing other sociologically and socially important categorisations.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Timetable for Research

1975

May: Contact L.E.A. in two London Boroughs
June: Interviews with L.E.A. and school heads
July: Pilot study

Main Study

Sept.-Oct.:
1. Collection of individual timetables, set lists, lists of teachers, school rules, notes for teachers on running the school etc.
2. Classroom observation (approx. 70% of my time)

Nov.-Dec.:
1. Classroom observation (approx. 40% of my time)
2. Staffroom observation (approx. 40% of my time)
3. Compiling a card index system on each student and teacher
4. Letter sent to students' parents

1976

Jan.:
1. Data from school records transferred to students' index cards
2. Pilot interviews (in Bristol)
3. Conduct interviews (n=51)
4. Class- and staffroom observation (approx. 30% of my time)

March-April:
1. Administer Bem Sex Role Inventory (approx. 130)
2. Transfer data from students' recent school report onto individual cards
3. Class and staffroom observation (approx. 30% of my time)

June: Dissemination. Talk to students (conference). Talk to staff (staff meeting).

Follow Up

1977/78

Dec.-Feb.: Send second questionnaire to all 'core' students (approx. 130).

1978

Autumn: Dissemination. Send written report to all students and staff at Torville School and to L.E.A.

APPENDIX IIA

Research Proposal Sent To Directors Of Education, Education Advisers, Head Teachers

Self-Image and Perception of Male and Female Roles among Adolescents Of Different Ethnic Groups

A research project at the Social Science Research Unit, University of Bristol.

The aim is to make a study in some depth of a small number (no more than 40) of pupils aged 15, and for this reason the research would be limited to one class (or similar teaching group) in one co-educational school. Comparisons will be made between Indo-Pakistani, English and West Indian adolescents. My previous research experience suggests that it would be necessary and desirable to get to know pupils over a period of time, and so I hope that it would be possible to spend two terms sitting with them in class, attending their lessons, and sharing their free time at school. The work in school would start in September 1975 and be finished by Easter 1976. During the first term I would be "looking and listening", that is, observing and getting to know the pupils in and out of the classroom. During the second term I would hope to administer a questionnaire and interview each pupil in the class somewhat more formally. On the basis of the interviews and the previous term's observations I would adapt and administer measures of self-concept and of masculinity/femininity.

In preparation for the full project I would also like to pilot my research methods possibly in another school in the same education authority, before the summer holiday. Piloting would take two to four weeks.

Summary Timetable

1975	
March - June	Reading, setting up the project
June/July (2-4 weeks) (IN SCHOOL)	PRELIMINARY OBSERVATION in school to pilot research techniques.
July - August	Assessing and writing up results of preliminary observation.
Sept. - Dec. (IN SCHOOL)	MAIN PERIOD OF OBSERVATION, 5 days per week with one class of 15 year olds.
1976	
Jan. - March (IN SCHOOL)	Continue observation, but less intensively; ADMINISTER QUESTIONNAIRE. COMPLETE FORMAL INTERVIEW WITH EACH PUPIL. ADAPT AND ADMINISTER measure of self-concept and masculinity/femininity test.
Easter - Aug.	Analysis of results of observation, and paper-and-pencil measures.
Sept. onwards	Writing up the project and its results.

Mary Fuller
SSRC Research Unit
April 1975

APPENDIX IIB

28 November 1975

School Address

Dear Parents,

Re. Research Project

A research worker from the University of Bristol, Mrs. M. Fuller, B.Sc., is carrying out a project in the school on pupils' views about the roles of males and females. She will be holding individual interviews with a small number of 5th year pupils during next term.

Pupils' names will be selected at random and it is possible that your son/daughter may be selected. I am writing to seek your permission for him/her to be interviewed. All the information will be treated as confidential and will be seen only by Mrs. Fuller.

Please return the attached slip to Mrs. Fuller as soon as possible.

I hope we shall have your co-operation as it will be most helpful to this research.

Yours sincerely,

(Headmaster's Signature)

.....

PLEASE RETURN TO MRS. M. FULLER, at the school.

Please put a tick by the statement that applies:

I give my permission for my son/daughter to take part in the research project.

I do not give my permission for my son/daughter to take part in the research project.

Address ..... Name of pupil .....

.....

.....

Signed ..... Date .....

APPENDIX III.A.

DATA SHEET FOR MAKING NOTES IN LESSONS

Week _____ Date _____ XYZ Target SS

wib ____ wig ____ Sub ____

eb ____ eg ____ Tname ____

ab ____ ag ____ Pno ____

ob ____ og ____ Rmno ____

Tb ____ Tg ____

x x x x x x x x

Special observations _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX III.B

IN-SCHOOL QUESTIONNAIRE

RESEARCH PROJECT ON SEX-ROLES

I am asking every student in forms 5X, Y and Z to answer a few questions about themselves. I am doing this firstly to see whether the conclusions of previous research in sex-roles apply in this school, and secondly, to make sure that the students whom I shall be interviewing are not completely untypical.

Please answer the questions as carefully as you can. If you have any difficulty let me know. Remember, this IS NOT A TEST, so be as honest as you can.

I shall treat all your answers as CONFIDENTIAL: they will not be shown to your teachers or parents or to any other students in the school.

M. Fuller
SSRC Research Unit
University of Bristol

January 1976

First name(s) ..... Surname .....

---

1. How old will you be on your next birthday ..... years

---

2. Were you born in London? YES

a. Have you ever lived outside London YES (go to q. 2b)
NO (go to q. 4)

b. How old were you when you came back to London (finally)?

..... years

NO

a. Where were you born?

.....

b. How old were you when you came to London to live?

..... years

---

3. If you have ever lived outside London, please give the following details about each of the places:

name of town/village	your age when you moved there	your age when you moved away
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....

---

4. After July this year do you intend to stay on at school ☐

or

leave school ☐

---

5. When you leave school, what kind of job(s) would you <u>like</u> to do? Give details.

.....

.....

Are there any jobs which you would <u>not like</u> to do? Give details.

.....

.....

6. Please give details about your brothers (If you have no brothers put a tick in this box) ☐

name of brother(s)	age	living with you?	born in same place as you?
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....

7. Please give details about your sisters. (If you have no sisters put a tick in this box) ☐

name of sister(s)	age	living with you?	born in same place as you?
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....

8. Are you living with your mother? YES

a. Has she always lived with you?
YES (go to question 9)
NO (go to question 8b)

b. How old were you when she stopped living with you?
..... years

How old were you when she returned?
..... years

NO

a. Have you ever lived with her?
YES (go to question 8b)
NO (go to question 10)

b. How old were you when she stopped living with you?
..... years

How old were you when she returned?
..... years

9. If your mother is working at the moment (or if she sometimes works) what is her job?

.....

does she do it at home ☐ or does she go out to work ☐

does she do it part-time ☐ or does she do it full-time ☐

10. Was your mother born in the same town/village as you? If not where was she born?

.....

11. Are you living with your <u>father</u>? YES

a. Has he always lived with you?
YES (go to question 12)
NO (go to question 11b)

How old were you when he stopped living with you?

..... years

How old were you when he returned?

..... years

NO

a. Have you ever lived with him?
YES (go to question 11b)
NO (go to question 13)

How old were you when he stopped living with you?

..... years

How old were you when he returned?

..... years

---

12. If your father is working at the moment what is his job? (If he is not working, give details about his last job) .....

.....

does he do it at home ☐ or does he go out to work ☐

does he do it part-time ☐ or does he do it full-time ☐

---

13. Was your father born in the same town/village as you? If not, where was he born?

.....

---

14. Please list all the exams you hope to take this summer:

<u>O level</u> .....

.....

<u>C.S.E.</u> .....

.....

Which of these do you expect to pass?

<u>O level</u> .....

.....

<u>C.S.E.</u> .....

.....

---

15. What kind of job do you <u>expect</u> to get when you leave school? .....

.....

---

16. Who would you like to be like? .....

.....

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP

If you have any comments about the questions or about your answers there is space on the back of the pages to write them.

APPENDIX III.C.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The aim during interviewing was to encourage students to discuss themselves and their perceptions of relationships with various people significant to them and/or the present research; their understandings about gender; and their expectations and aspirations for the future.

A series of cards was prepared to serve as an aide memoire during interviewing. Suggested questions to be asked were grouped by topic, with one topic to each card. While all topics would be covered in each interview, it would be in greater or lesser depth according to the student's interest and circumstances. Topics might be covered in whatever sequence seemed most natural and appropriate in each interview. I would not necessarily keep to the wording of the questions, adapting them to the vocabulary of the student being interviewed. Often I would not need to ask some questions as students spontaneously discussed these areas in response to a first, somewhat general question. Wherever they did not spontaneously arise, comparisons between the sexes (and where appropriate with respect to age and ethnicity) would be obtained by prompting the student. Finally, some questions were aimed at encouraging the student to elaborate answers given on a questionnaire completed some time before being interviewed.

The suggested questions are set out below, grouped according to the particular aspect of a student's perceptions which was being investigated. I have not indicated where sex-class, ethnicity or age would be probed because this was done wherever it seemed appropriate.

1. Perceptions of Others.

   How would you describe ————————?

Mother

Father

Brother (younger/older)

Sister (younger/older)

Grandparents / others in family

Friends (male/female)

Boy/Girlfriend(s)

Other students at this school

Teachers at this school

What are they like.

How do you get on with them.

How do they treat you.

How do you treat them.

Are you all treated the same.

Who treats whom differently.

What are the differences.

2. Others' Perception of Self

How would _____ describe you?

Mother, Father, Brother (younger/older), Sister (younger/older), Grandparents, Others in family, Friends (male/female), Boy/Girlfriend, Other students at this school, Teachers, Employer.

What would they say you were like.

How do they expect you to behave.

Does everyone in your family think you are the same/expect the same of you (probe mother vs. father, parents vs. sibs. etc.).

Would everyone at school describe you in the same way/expect the same of you (probe pupils vs. teachers, one group of teachers vs. another group etc.).

(Similarly for others listed).

3. Stereotypes about Men and Women

What would be your idea of an ideal ————————?

How would you describe someone who isn't a proper ————————?

Mother, Father, Brother, Sister, Daughter, Son, Wife, Husband, Boy/Girlfriend, Pupil, Teacher, Wage-earner.

What would a proper _____ be like.

Would an ideal mother be the same as an ideal father. How would they be different. (Similarly for others listed).

What would a bad/unsuccesful _____ be like.

Would a bad father be like a bad mother. How would they be different (Similarly for others listed).

(Repeating student's words re. ideal characteristics of males): Do you expect all men/boys to be like this. Are there any people/groups of people that you would expect or think might behave differently (probe age, ethnicity).

(Repeating student's words re. ideal characteristics of females): Do you expect all women/girls to be like this. etc.

4. Self-Concept.

Do you find it easy or difficult to do as other people expect?

Do you find it easy/difficult to live up to their ideas about you.

What are the difficulties.

Why is it idfficult (probe: to do with self, others, external factors).

How would you describe yourself?

What are you like.

Are you like/different from mother, other students, friends, etc.

What were you like when you were younger.

Are you satisfied with the way you are. What are you satisfied with.

Are you disatisfied with yourself. Etc.

Would you like to change. In what ways.

If you could choose would you be a boy or a girl?

5. Masculinity/Femininity

When you hear someone described as masculine/feminine, what kind of picture do you get of that person?

Is there anyone/any group of people who you would think of as 'really masculine' / 'really feminine'.

Is there any woman/group of women that you think of as not very feminine.

Would you ever use the word masculine about a girl/woman.

Would you ever use the word feminine about a boy/man.

What would such people be like.

Would other people describe you as masculine or feminine?

Would you say that you were masculine or feminine?

6. Future

What sort of person would you like to be in the future?

What would you like to do/what kind of person would you like to become.

In 10 years time what would you like to have achieved/what kind of person would you like to have become?

Is any of this going to be difficult/impossible (probe: to do with self,

others, external factors (e.g. discrimination)).

(Refer to q.16 on questionnaire) What is it about _____ that you admire.

Would you like to be like that. OR. You've said there's no-one you'd like to be like. Could you tell me why that is.

Would you like to get married?

Have you always wanted to. Why would you like to get married.

What would you look for in your husband/wife.

Would you like to have children?

Have you always wanted to. Why would you like to have children.

7. Immediate Future and Plans.

(Refer to q.4 on questionnaire). Would you tell me a bit more about why you intend to stay on at school/leave school this year?

(Refer to q.5 on questionnaire: preferred job). What is it about the job(s) that attracts you?

Will there be anything you won't like about it.

How did you come to decide on this particular job.

(Refer to q.5 on questionnaire: disliked job). What is it about _____ that puts you off?

(Refer to q.5 and 15: i.e. if discrepancy between preferred and expected job). Why do you think you will get a job doing _____ rather than the one you would really like?

8. Conclusion to Interview

What do you most enjoy doing? (i.e. out of school).

APPENDIX III.D.

BEM SEX ROLE INVENTORY (ADAPTED FOR USE AT TORVILLE)

DESCRIBE SELF

	NEVER OR ALMOST NEVER TRUE 1	*USUALLY NOT TRUE* 2	3	*OCCASIONALLY TRUE* 4	5	*USUALLY TRUE* 6	*ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE* 7
1 Self reliant							
2 Yielding							
3 Helpful							
4 Defends own beliefs							
5 Cheerful							
6 Moody							
7 Independent							
8 Shy							
9 Conscientious							
10 Athletic							
11 Affectionate							
12 Theatrical							
13 Assertive							
14 Flatterable							
15 Happy							
16 Strong Personality							
17 Loyal							
18 Unpredictable							
19 Forceful							
20 Feminine							
21 Reliable							
22 Analytical							
23 Sympathetic							

DESCRIBE SELF

	NEVER OR ALMOST NEVER TRUE	*USUALLY NOT TRUE*		*OCCAS-IONALLY TRUE*		*USUALLY TRUE*	*ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE*
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24 Jealous							
25 Has leadership abilities							
26 Sensitive to the needs of others							
27 Truthful							
28 Willing to take risks							
29 Understanding							
30 Secretive							
31 Makes decisions easily							
32 Compassionate							
33 Sincere							
34 Self-sufficient							
35 Eager to soothe hurt feelings							
36 Conceited							
37 Dominant							
38 Soft-spoken							
39 Likable							
40 Masculine							
41 Warm							
42 Solemn							
43 Willing to take a stand							
44 Tender							
45 Friendly							
46 Aggressive							
47 Gullible							
48 Inefficient							

DESCRIBE SELF

	NEVER OR ALMOST NEVER TRUE	*USUALLY NOT TRUE*		*OCCAS-IONALLY TRUE*		*USUALLY TRUE*	*ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE*
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
49 Acts as a leader							
50 Childlike							
51 Adaptable							
52 Individualistic							
53 Does not use harsh language							
54 Unsystematic							
55 Competitive							
56 Loves children							
57 Tactful							
58 Ambitious							
59 Gentle							
60 Conventional							
61							
62							
63							
64							
65							
66							

APPENDIX III.D.

INSTRUCTIONS AND PRACTISE EXAMPLES FOR COMPLETING THE BEM SEX ROLE INVENTORY

Before you begin filling in the form I want to explain how to do it. You will see that on the left hand there is a word or phrase and I want you to put a tick beside it according to whether you think it describes you or not. There are 60 words/phrases and you should put a tick beside each one.

Let's look at a few examples to give you an idea. (Show example sheet).

Looking across the top you will see that the spaces are numbered. So, if you think you are never sly, you'd put a tick on the line under the 1. If you think you are often sly then you'd put a tick under 5, if you are sometimes but not very often sly then you'd put a tick under the 3, and so on.

(Go through the 3 other examples).

Now this form comes from America and is intended for university students, so it is possible that you won't know the meaning of all the words. If there's a word you don't know or aren't sure about, please ask.

Before you start, remember that I shall not show your answers to teachers or other students, so try to be honest, Fill in the form according to how <u>you</u> think each of the words describes you. When you get to the end you'll find there's space for you to fill in any characteristics that describe you which have been left out.

APPENDIX III.D.

PRACTISE EXAMPLES FOR B.S.R.I.

	NEVER (or almost never) TRUE	USUALLY NOT TRUE	SOMETIMES BUT NOT FREQUENTLY TRUE	OCCASIONALLY TRUE	OFTEN TRUE	USUALLY TRUE	ALWAYS (or almost always) TRUE
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. SLY							
MALICIOUS							
IRRESPONSIBLE							
CAREFREE							

APPENDIX III.D.

List of Synonyms prepared for use with Bem Sex Role Inventory at Torville School

Self reliant	Bold, daring, have confidence in oneself.
Yielding	compliant, submissive.
Helpful	would help you.
Defends own beliefs	Stands up for what they believe.
Cheerful	
Moody	
Independent	Can do things for themself/on their own, free.
Shy	
Conscientious	Careful, trustworthy, takes trouble to do things well.
Athletic	
Affectionate	loving, shows affection.
Theatrical	does things for effect, makes gestures/talks etc. like an actor
Assertive	assured, outspoken, insists on their rights.
Flatterable	can be flattered, believes compliments.
Happy	
Strong personality	
Loyal	stick by their friends, stick to their ideas.
Unpredictable	can't always tell how they'll behave or what they'll say.
Forceful	convincing, strong.
Feminine	Womanly, girlish, ladylike.
Reliable	someone you can rely on.
Analytical	rational, clear-headed, uses logic.
Sympathetic	has feelings or sympathy for other people.
Jealous	
Has leadership abilities	can lead people.
Sensitive to the needs of others	takes notice of what other people want or how other people are feeling.
Truthful	
Willing to take risks	
Understanding	can/or tries to understand other people.
Secretive	Keeps things to themself, don't tell their own secrets to other people.
Makes decisions easily	
Compassionate	Gentle, has humanity/a soft heart.
Sincere	genuine, frank, honest.
Self-sufficient	self-contained, doesn't have to rely on others, doesn't need anything from others.

Eager to soothe hurt feelings	if someone else is angry/unhappy they try to calm that one down.
Conceited	Has a good opinion of themself, think they're 'it', has a big head.
Dominant	influential, has authority.
Soft-spoken	speaks quietly or gently.
Likeable	somebody whom others like.
Masculine	manly, boyish, gentlemanly.
Warm	welcoming, sociable.
Solemn	serious, sober.
Willing to take a stand	if s/he says something and others don't agree s/he doesn't automatically take it back or agree with them.
Tender	soft, considerate, gentle.
Friendly	
Aggressive	forceful, belligerent.
Gullible	can be fooled, easily taken in, naive.
Inefficient	not efficient.
Acts as a leader	
Childlike	natural, unsophisticated, uncomplicated, simple.
Adaptable	Can change to fit in with different situations, flexible.
Individualistic	self-centred, put themself first, thinks can do things best by doing them on their own.
Does not use harsh language	for example, someone who doesn't swear.
Unsystematic	unorganised, unmethodical,
Competitive	
Loves children	
Tactful	knows what to do or say to people without giving offence.
Ambitious	has high ambitions.
Gentle	
Conventional	follows traditions, does the 'done' thing.

APPENDIX III.D.

MASCULINE, FEMININE AND NEUTRAL ITEMS IN THE BEM SEX ROLE INVENTORY

Masculine Items	Feminine Items	Neutral Items
Acts as a leader	Affectionate	Adaptable
Aggressive	Cheerful	Conceited
Ambitious	Childlike	Conscientious
Analytical	Compassionate	Conventional
Assertive	Does not use harsh language	Friendly
Athletic	Eager to soothe hurt feelings	Happy
Competitive	Feminine	Helpful
Defends own beliefs	Flatterable	Inefficient
Dominant	Gentle	Jealous
Forceful	Gullible	Likeable
Has leadership abilities	Loves children	Moody
Independent	Loyal	Reliable
Individualistic	Sensitive to the needs of others	Secretive
Makes decisions easily	Shy	Sincere
Masculine	Soft spoken	Solemn
Self reliant	Sympathetic	Tactful
Self sufficient	Tender	Theatrical
Strong personality	Understanding	Truthful
Willing to take a stand	Warm	Unpredictable
Willing to take risks	Yielding	Unsystematic

APPENDIX III.E.

COVERING LETTER SENT WITH FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONNAIRE

SSRC

Social Science Research Council

RESEARCH UNIT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

Director: Professor Michael Banton, J.P., D.Sc.

8 PRIORY ROAD
BRISTOL
BS8 1SZ
Tel: Bristol (0272) 311296

December 1977

I expect you remember that I came to do some research on sex-roles when you were in the fifth year at Torville School. It's over a year since I came back to talk to you at school about the research and a lot may have happened to you since then - you may have left school to go to work or college; perhaps you left but couldn't get work; or maybe you're still at school.

Before I finally complete writing my research report I would be really interested to hear what has happened to you so that I've got an up-to-date picture. So I'm writing to ask for your help again - to answer a few questions about yourself on the form which I'm sending with this letter.

As you will see the form is quite short. It doesn't cover everything that could have been going on, but I've made it brief so that it won't take long to fill in. I'd be very grateful if you would fill in the form and send it back to me in the stamped addressed envelope, as soon as possible.

If you would like to write more I'd be delighted to hear about you. But if you only have time to fill in the form I'd be very pleased anyway.

Finally, if any of your friends from the fifth year have moved in the last couple of years could you tell me so that I know that's why they've not sent back their form. If you could tell me their new address I can send them a form there.

I hope things are going well for you and I look forward to hearing from you.

Best wishes,

Mary I. Fuller.

Mary I. Fuller
(Research Associate)

FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONNAIRE

RESEARCH PROJECT ON SEX ROLES

M. Fuller,
SSRC Research Unit,
University of Bristol.

December 1977

Your answers will be treated as confidential. Nobody except me will see them.

PLEASE READ THE QUESTIONS CAREFULLY. THIS IS NOT A TEST, SO BE AS HONEST AS POSSIBLE.

Instructions

EVERYBODY should answer questions in Section A.

IF YOU HAVE LEFT SCHOOL, please also answer questions in Section B and D.

IF YOU ARE STILL AT SCHOOL, please answer questions in Section C and D, as well as questions in Section A.

SECTION A

1. **First name(s) ..... Surname .....**

2. **Please give details of all the examination subjects you have taken (at school or college) and the grades you received.**

C.S.E. (subject)	grade	O level (subject)	grade

SECTION B

IF YOU HAVE LEFT SCHOOL ANSWER QUESTIONS 3,4,5 and 6
IF YOU ARE STILL AT SCHOOL GO TO QUESTIONS 7, 8, 9 and 10.

3. **When did you leave school?**

End 5th year ☐ **Summer 1977** ☐

Easter 1977 ☐ **Some other time** ☐

(say when .....)

4. Did you want to leave school?

Yes ☐ *(answer question 4A)* No ☐ *(answer question 4B)*

4A *(if you answered 'yes' to question 4)*
What were the main reasons you wanted to leave? *(tick as many as apply)*

1. Had a job to go to ☐
2. Had an apprenticeship to go to ☐
3. Had a place at college ☐
4. Didn't like school ☐
5. Getting married ☐
6. Friends leaving school ☐
7. Financial (please explain) ☐

.....

.....

.....

8. Other reasons (please explain why you wanted to leave)

.....

.....

.....

.....

(Go on to question 5)

4B *(if you answered 'no' to question 4)*
If you didn't want to leave, why did you? *(tick as many as apply)*

1. Poor examination marks ☐
2. Parents wanted me to leave school as soon as possible ☐
3. Parents wanted me to leave because of poor exam marks ☐
4. School wouldn't let me stay ☐
5. Getting married ☐
6. Parent(s) moved to another area, and I didn't want to start at another school ☐
7. Financial (please explain) ☐

.....

.....

.....

8. Other reasons (please explain why you left school, even though you wanted to stay)

.....

.....

.....

.....

(Go on to question 5)

5. Have you ever had a job or apprenticeship since leaving school?

Yes ☐ *(please answer question 5A)*

No ☐ *(please answer question 5B)*

5A If you have EVER had a job or apprenticeship since leaving school:

1. How long did you wait before starting work? *(tick one)*

Started soon as left school ☐

Had holiday, then started ☐

Couldn't get job immediately ☐ (say how long it took and why)

.....

.....

2. How many jobs have you had since leaving school? ☐
(write the number in the box)

3. Please give the following details about <u>each</u> of your jobs?

<u>First job</u> What were you doing? .....

How long did you stay in it? .....

Why did you leave? .....

<u>Second job</u> What were you doing? .....

How long did you stay in it? .....

Why did you leave? .....

<u>Third job</u> What were you doing? .....

How long did you stay in it? .....

Why did you leave? .....

(If you need more space for other jobs, use the back of this form.)

4. Adding up all your periods of unemployment, how long have you been unemployed? .....

5. Are you employed at the moment? Yes ☐ No ☐

If 'yes', what is your job? .....

(Go on to question 6)

5B *If you have NEVER had a job or apprenticeship since leaving school:*

Have you tried to get a job?

Yes ☐ *(go to question 5C)* **No** ☐ *(go to question 5D)*

5C *(If you answered 'yes' to question 5B)*

1. a **How many jobs have you applied for (write number in box)?** ☐

2. **How many jobs have you been interviewed for (write number in box)?** ☐

3. **Why do you think you haven't been able to get a job?**

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

4. **Are you looking for work at the moment?**

Yes ☐ **No** ☐

Why is that? .....

.....

.....

(Go on to question 6)

5D *(If you answered 'no' to question 5B)*

I haven't applied for jobs because

1. **Went to college and still there (Say what you are studying)** ☐

.....

.....

2. **Parents won't let me work** ☐

3. **Medical reasons (please explain)** ☐

.....

4. **Family reasons (please explain)** ☐

.....

5. **Other reasons (please explain why you haven't looked for work)** ☐

.....

.....

.....

6. **Do you think you might look for work in the future?**

Yes ☐ **No** ☐

Why is that? .....

.....

(Go on to question 6)

6. **How do you feel about your decision to leave school?**

1. **Glad I left** ☐
2. **Wish I'd stayed** ☐
3. **Don't know** ☐

SECTION C

QUESTIONS 7,8,9 & 10 ARE ONLY TO BE ANSWERED BY THOSE WHO ARE STILL AT SCHOOL

7. When do you expect to leave school *(tick one)*

Easter ☐ Easter 1979 ☐

Summer 1978 ☐ Some other time ☐ say when .....

8. Did you want to stay at school?

Yes ☐ *(answer question 8A)* No ☐ *(answer question 8B)*

8A. *(if you answered 'yes' to question 8)*

What were your main reasons for wanting to stay? *(tick as many as apply)*

1. Take exams again ☐
2. Take new exams ☐
3. Had no job/apprenticeship/ college place, so prefer to stay at school ☐
4. Parents would not let me work, so prefer to be at school ☐
5. Other reason (please say why you wanted to stay)

.....

.....

.....

.....

(Go on to question 9)

8B. *If you answered 'no' to question 8)*

If you didn't want to stay at school, why did you? *(tick as many as apply)*

1. Take exams again ☐
2. Take new exams ☐
3. Had no job/apprenticeship/ college place so prefer to stay at school ☐
4. Parents wouldn't let me leave ☐
5. Parents wouldn't let me work so prefer to be at school ☐
6. Other reason (please say why you stayed even though you wanted to leave)

.....

.....

.....

.....

(Go on to question 9)

9. When you leave school what do you plan to do?

1. Further study ☐ (give details of college, subject to be studied)

.....

.....

2. Other training ☐ (give details) .....

.....

3. A job ☐ (give details) .....

.....

4. Something else ☐ (give details) .....

.....

10. How do you feel about your decision to stay at school?

1. Glad I stayed ☐

2. Regret staying ☐

3. Don't know ☐

SECTION D

Please use this space for any other information about yourself, or to list your friends who have moved.

If you would like a short summary of my research report when it is ready next year, please put a tick in the box. ☐

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP

APPENDIX III.E.

RESPONSE TO FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONNAIRES

There was an overall response rate (with no reminder letters or other follow-up) of 61% for all white British, Asian and West Indian pupils (61% for boys and 62% for girls). Questionnaires were sent to 'other' students and figures for these are included, except in X^2 calculations. Returned and non-returned questionnaires were analysed for response bias. The following tables set out this information.

Table 1. Response of Boys, by ethnicity

	Total	White British	Asian	West Indian	Other	Grand Total
Total questionnaires sent	69	39	18	12	9	78
Received completed	42	23	14	5	5	47
Not returned or returned by GPO	27	16	4	7	4	31

X^2 (corrected) = 2.653, 2df, n.s.

Table 2. Response of Girls, by ethnicity

Total questionnaires sent	45	27	10	8	5	50
Received completed	28	18	5	5	4	32
Not returned or returned by GPO	17	9	5	3	1	18

X^2 (corrected) = 0.297, 2df, n.s.

Table 3. Response of Ethnic Groups

Total questionnaires sent	114	66	28	20	14	128
Received completed	70	41	19	10	9	79
Not returned/returned by GPO	44	25	9	10	5	49

X^2 (corrected) = 0.926, 2df, n.s.

Table 4. Response of Sexes compared
(excluding 'other' students)

	Total	Girls	Boys
Total questionnaires sent	114	45	69
Completed	70	28	42
Not returned	44	17	27

X^2 = < 1.000, 1df, n.s.

Table 5. Pupil Types Compared

	Good	Bad	Unobtrusive	Conspicuous	U/C*	Total
Total questionnaires sent	39	43	18	11	3	114
Returned	30	22	11	5	2	70
Not returned	9	21	7	6	1	44

* Students who could not be classified into the pupil typology. Excluded from X^2 calculation).

Good vs. other pupil types: X^2 = 6.026, 1df, Sig. at .02.

Bad vs. other pupil types: X^2 = 3.057, 1df, n.s.

Good pupils were more likely to return their questionnaire than other pupils.

Table 6. Response of those who had been interviewed compared with those who had not been interviewed

	Interviewed	Not interviewed	Total
Total questionnaires sent	54*	60	114
Returned	32	38	70
Not returned	22	22	44

* This includes 2 girls interviewed together whose interview has not been used in this thesis and one girl whose interview was not recorded.

X^2 = 0.198, 1df, n.s.

Table 7. Response of Social Classes (Definition 1) Compared: Boys

	Manual	Non-manual	Unclassified	Total
Total questionnaires sent	40	22	7	69
Returned	18	19	5	42
Not returned	22	3	2	27

X^2 (corrected) manual vs. non-manual = 8.446, 1df, sig. at .01.

Table 8. Response of Social Classes (Definition 1) Compared: Girls

	Manual	Non-manual	Unclassified	Total
Total questionnaire sent	30	12	3	45
Returned	20	8	2	30
Not returned	10	4	1	15

X^2 manual vs. non-manual = 0.000, 1df, n.s.

Table 9. Response of Social Classes (Definition 1) Compared: All Students

	Manual	Non-manual	Unclassified	Total
Total questionnaires sent	70	34	10	114
Returned	38	27	7	72
Not returned	32	7	3	42

X^2 (corrected) = 5.21, 2df, n.s.

Boys from manual backgrounds were less likely to return their questionnaire than boys from non-manual backgrounds.

APPENDIX IV

SOCIAL CLASS

Data is presented about 124 students about whom accurate information is available and who are living with one or both parents. The Registrar General's Classification (OPCS 1970) is used throughout.

Table 1

Social Class, based on father's present or usual occupation:

All Students

		I+II (n=23)	IIIN (n=15)	IIIM (n=52)	IV (n=18)	V (n=1)	Other (n=7)	Total (n=116)*
White British	(total)	11	8	30	9	1	3	62
	girls	7	2	10	6	0	1[1]	26
	boys	4	6	20	3	1	2[2]	36
Asian	(total)	8	4	7	5	0	1	25
	girls	2	0	4	2	0	1[3]	9
	boys	6	4	3	3	0	0	16
West Indian	(total)	0	1	11	3	0	3	18
	girls	0	1	4	0	0	1[4]	6
	boys	0	0	7	3	0	2[5]	12
Others	(total)	4	2	4	1	0	0	11
	girls	0	2	0	1	0	0	3
	boys	4	0	4	0	0	0	8
All girls	(total)	9	5	18	9	0	3	44
All boys	(total)	14	10	34	9	1	4	72

Notes:

* total exclude students not living with father for whatever reason.

1. 1 retired.
2. 1 retired, 1 insufficient information.
3. not worked in Britain because ill.
4. 1 insufficient information (manual working class).
5. 2 insufficient information.

In Tables 1A, B, C and D, occupations I, II and IIIN are combined into one category - Non-Manual, and IIM, IV and V are combined into a category - Manual, to allow statistical tests to be applied.

Table 1.A

Social Class of White British Students (Father's Occupation) x Student's Sex

	Non-Manual	Manual	Total
Girls	9	16	25
Boys	10	24	34
Total	19	40	59

X^2 = 0.06, 1 d.f., n.s.

Table 1.B

Social Class of Asian Students (Father's Occupation) x Student's Sex

	Non-Manual	Manual	Total
Girls	2	6	8
Boys	10	6	6
Total	12	12	24

X^2 = 1.69 (corrected), 1 d.f., n.s.

Table 1.C

Social Class of West Indian Students (Father's Occupation) x Student's Sex

	Non-Manual	Manual	Total
Girls	1	4	5
Boys	0	14	14
Total	1	18	19

(Figures too small to allow adequate statistical test)

Table 1.D

Social Class of all Students (Father's Occupation) x Student's Ethnicity

	Non-Manual	Manual	Total
White British	19	40	59
Asian	12	12	24
West Indian	1	14	15
Total	32	66	98

X^2 = 6.04 (corrected), 2 d.f., Sig. at 0.05

Proportionately more Asians have a Non-manual father : West Indians are disproportionately represented in the Manual group.

Table 2

Social Class, Based on Mother's Present or Usual Occupation:

All Students

		I+II (n=9)	IIIN (n=36)	IIIM (n=12)	IV (n=23)	V (n=6)	full-time housewife (n=32)	Other (n=3)	Total (n=121)*
White British	(total)	1	31	5	6	3	17	0	63
	girls	1	10	2	4	1	8	0	26
	boys	0	21	3	2	2	9	0	37
Asian	(total)	0	3	3	8	0	11	1	26
	girls	0	1	1	1	0	6	1[1]	10
	boys	0	2	2	7	0	5	0	16
West Indian	(total)	7	1	3	4	3	1	1	20
	girls	2	1	2	1	1	0	1[2]	8
	boys	5	0	1	3	2	1	0	12
Others	(total)	1	1	1	5	0	3	1	12
	girls	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	4
	boys	1	1	1	2	0	2	1[3]	8
All girls	(total)	3	12	5	9	2	15	2	48
All boys	(total)	6	24	7	14	4	17	1	73

Table 2 cont'd.....

Table 2 cont'd....

Notes:

* Total exclude students not living with mother, for whatever reason.

1. insufficient information.
2. insufficient information.
3. insufficient information.

In Tables 2A, B, C and D, categories I, II and IIIN are combined into one category - Non-manual, and IIIM, IV and V into the category, Manual.

Table 2.A

Social Class of White British Students (Mother's Occupation) x Student's Sex

	Non-manual	Manual	Housewife	Total
Girls	11	7	8	26
Boys	21	7	9	37
Total	32	14	17	63

X^2 = 0.586 (corrected), 2 d.f., n.s.

Table 2.B

Social Class of Asian Students (Mother's Occupation) x Student's Sex

	Non-manual	Manual	Housewife	Total
Girls	1	2	6	9
Boys	2	9	5	16
Total	3	11	11	25

X^2 = 1.78 (corrected), 2 d.f., n.s.

Table 2.C

Social Class of West Indian Students (Mother's Occupation) x Student's Sex

	Non-manual	Manual	Total
Girls	3	4	7
Boys	5	6	10
Total	8	10	17

X^2 = 0.00 (corrected), 1 d.f., n.s.

Table 2.D

Social Class of All Students (Mother's Occupation) x Student's Ethnicity

	Non-manual	Manual	Housewife	Total
White British	32	14	17	63
Asian	3	11	11	25
West Indian	8	10	1	19
Total	43	35	29	107

X^2 = 14.615 (corrected), 4 d.f., Sig. at .02

X^2 = 14.256 (corrected), 2 d.f., Sig. at .001 (excludes 'housewife' category)

West Indian and Asian pupils are disproportionately represented in the 'Manual' category.

Categories I, II and IIIN are collapsed into one category - manual(M); Categories IIIM, IV and V are collapsed into one category - Non-manual(N). These two categories are used in subsequent tables.

Table 3

Social Class of Two-Parent Families with Both Working (n=85)

		1* (n=45)		2** (n=6)		3$ (n=34)		Total 1,2+3		4+ (n=34)		Total 1,2+4	
		M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N
n=4	Asian girls	2	1	1	0	0	0	*3*	*1*	0	0	*3*	*1*
n=11	boys	5	2	0	0	4	0	*9*	*2*	0	4	*5*	*6*
n=15	(t)	7	3	1	0	4	0	*12*	*3*	0	4	*8*	*7*
n=6	W.Ind. girls	2	1	1	0	0	2	*3*	*3*	2	0	*5*	*1*
n=11	boys	5	0	1	1	0	4	*6*	*5*	4	0	*10*	*1*
n=17	(5)	7	1	2	1	0	6	*9*	*8*	6	0	*15*	*2*
n=17	Brit. girls	6	6	0	0	0	5	*7*	*11*	5	0	*11*	*6*
n=27	boys	5	5	1	0	1	15	*6*	*20*	15	1	*21*	*6*
n=44	(t)	11	11	1	0	1	20	*13*	*31*	20	1	*32*	*12*
m=3	Other girls	1	0	0	0	2	0	*3*	*0*	0	2	*1*	*2*
n=6	boys	3	1	0	1	0	1	*3*	*3*	1	0	*4*	*2*
n=9	(t)	4	1	0	1	2	1	*6*	*3*	1	2	*5*	*4*
n=30	Total girls	11	8	2	0	2	7	*15*	*15*	7	2	*20*	*10*
n=55	boys	18	8	2	2	5	20	*25*	*30*	20	5	*40*	*15*
n=85	Grand (t)	29	16	4	2	7	27	*40*	*45*	27	7	*60*	*25*

Notes

* 1 = parents are in same Registrar General's classification category; or in similar category (i.e. both 'manual' or 'non-manual').

** 2 = both employed, but classified on one because insufficient information on other.

$ 3 = parents' class dissimilar; mother's job used to classify.

\+ 4 = parents' class dissimilar; father's job used to classify.

Table 4

Social Class of Two-Parent Families with One Breadwinner

(n=26)

	Manual	Non-manual
Asian (total)	(3)	(5)
girls	3	1
boys	0	4
West Indian (total)	(1)	(0)
girls	0	0
boys	1	0
White British (total)	(8)	(7)
girls	5	3
boys	3.	4
Other (total)	(0)	(2)
girls	0	0
boys	0	2
Total	(12)	(14)
(Total girls)	8	4
(Total boys)	4	10

Table 5

Social Class of One Parent Families (n=6 ex 12)

	Manual	Non-manual
Asian (total)	(1)	(0)
girls	0	0
boys	1	0
West Indian (total)	(2)	(0)
girls	2	0
boys	0	0
White British (total)	(2)	(1)
girls	1	1
boys	1	0
Other (total)	(0)	(0)
Total	(5)	(1)
(total girls)	3	0
(total boys)	2	1

Table 6

Summary of Students' Social Class, Using Alternative Bases (n=117)

		Manual	Non-manual
(i) where there is discrepancy, FATHER's job defines class	Asians (n=24)	12	12
	W. Inds. (n=20)	18	2
	White Br. (n=62)	42	20
	Other (n=11)	5	6
	Total	77 (66%)	40 (34%)
(ii) where there is discrepancy, MOTHER's job defines class	Asians (n=24)	16	8
	W.Inds. (n=20)	12	8
	White Br. (n=62)	23	39
	Other (n=11)	6	5
	Total	57 (49%)	60 (51%)

Table 7

Students Clearly of Manual Class Origins* (n=50)

	Boys	Girls	Total
Asian	6	6	12
West Indian	7	5	12
White British	10	12	22
Other	3	1	4
Total	26	24	50

X^2 (corrected) = 0.258, 2 d.f., n.s. (Excludes 'Other' students)

* Based on occupation of sole breadwinner; or two breadwinners when both are classified in the categories IIIM, IV or V.

Table 8

Students Clearly of Non-Manual Class Origin* (n=33)

	Boys	Girls	Total
Asian	6	2	8
West Indian	1	1	2
White British	10	9	19
Other	4	0	4
Total	21	12	33

X^2 (corrected) = 0.427, 2 d.f., n.s. (Excludes 'Other' Students)

* Based on occupation of sole breadwinner; or two breadwinners where both are classified in the categories IIIN, II or I.

Table 9

Students of Ambiguous Class Origin* (n=34)

	Boys	Girls	Total
Asian	4	0	4
West Indian	4	2	6
White British	16	5	21
Other	1	2	3
Total	25	9	34

X^2 (corrected) = 0.252, 2 d.f., n.s. (Excludes 'Other' students)

* Both parents working, but one classified manual and the other non-manual.

Table 10

Summary of Students' Social Class Origins x Ethnicity
(Excluding 'Other' Students)

	Clearly Non-Manual	Clearly Manual	Ambiguous Class	Total
White British	19	22	21	62
Asian	8	12	4	24
West Indian	2	12	6	20
Total	29	46	31	106

X^2 (corrected) = 4.851, 4 d.f., n.s.

Higher ranked definition of class (i.e. non-manual and ambiguous vs. manual):

X^2 (corrected) = 3.094, 2 d.f., n.s.

Lower ranked definition of class (i.e. manual and ambiguous vs. non-manual):

X^2 (corrected) = 2.749, 2 d.f., n.s.

Table 11

Summary of Students' Social Class Origins x Sex
(Excluding 'Other' Students)

	Clearly Non-Manual	Clearly Manual	Ambiguous Class	Total
Girls	12	23	7	42
Boys	17	23	24	64
Total	29	46	31	106

X^2 = 5.872, 2 d.f., (approaching significance at .05).

Higher ranked definition of class (i.e. non-manual and ambiguous vs. manual):

X^2 = 3.658, 1 d.f., n.s.

Lower ranked definition of class (i.e. manual and ambiguous vs. non-manual):

X^2 ≃ 0.000, 1 d.f., n.s.

Proportionately more girls than boys come from clearly manual backgrounds: proportionately more boys than girls come from families where one parent is classified as non-manual and the other as manual (i.e. ambiguous class).

Table 12

Students who Cannot be Classified in Terms of Social Class* (n=7)

	Boys	Girls	Total
Asian	1	2	3
West Indian	0	0	0
White British	2	1	3
Other	0	1	1
Total	3	4	7

* Neither parent usually employed; or single parent who is not usually employed.

Table 13

Relative Status of Mother's and Father's Job When Both are Classified 'Manual', but there is Discrepancy Between the Category (XIIM, IIM, IV or V) of their Jobs (n=17)

		Parent with higher ranked job:	
		Mother	Father
Asian	(n=2)	0	2
West Indian	(n=6)	0	6
White British	(n=7)	0	7
Others	(n=2)	0	2
Total		0	17

In all cases males have the higher-ranked manual job.

Table 14

Relative Status of Mother's and Father's Job when Both are Classified 'Non-Manual', but there is Discrepancy Between the Category (IIIN, II or I) of their Jobs (n=12)

		Parent with higher ranked job:	
		Mother	Father
Asian	(n=4)	1	3
West Indian	(n=1)	1	0
White British	(n=6)	1	5
Other	(n=1)	0	1
Total		3	9

Men are more likely to hold the higher ranked non-manual job.

Table 15

Relative Status of Mother's and Father's Job, When One Parent is Classified 'Manual' and the Other 'Non-Manual' (n=34)

		Parent with higher ranked job:	
		Mother	Father
Asian	(n=4)	0	4
West Indian	(n=6)	6	0
White British	(n=21)	20	1
Other	(n=3)	1	2
Total		27	7

Women are more likely, in these instances, to hold the higher-ranked job.

A common pattern among West Indians is for the woman to be an S.R.N. while

her husband is in a skilled or semi-skilled manual job. Among the white British, women are more likely to be in secretarial/clerical jobs and their husbands in skilled or semi-skilled manual jobs.

Higher ranked jobs, in terms of Registrar General's Classification, are by no means always more highly paid. Indeed the women in this category will almost certainly be receiving less pay than the lower-ranked husband. Coussins (1977, p.9), quoting figures from the Department of Employment shows clearly that, in April 1976, women's average hourly pay was less than men's; while rates of pay were higher in non-manual than manual jobs, nevertheless non-manual women received lower hourly average pay than male manual workers. Women's average hourly pay in manual jobs was 70% of men's; while in non-manual jobs it was 63%

Table 16

Socio-Economic Groupings of Students Compared with Borough Distribution: Percentages

S.E.G.		Borough, 1971* (Number) (8753)	Students, 1976$ (113)
1,2,3, 4,13	Managerial and Professional	18.5	18.6
12,14	Other Self-Employed	6.3	8.0
5,6	Other Non-Manual	21.1	14.2
8,9	Skilled Manual	28.4	38.9
7,10,15	Personal Service, Semi-Skilled	15.3	15.9
11	Unskilled	7.2	0.9
16	Armed Forces	0.3	0.0
17	Indefinite	2.8	3.5

Table 16 cont'd....

Table 16 cont'd.....

* Source: Figures provided by Borough, based on 10% Census Data, 1971, 'Economically Active Males aged 15 and over'.

$ Present or usual occupation of male breadwinner. Excludes families where male is economically inactive (i.e. retired) whether or not female is employed; also excludes mother-headed families.

Within the broad non-manual category (S.E.G. 1,2,3,4,5,6 and 13) there is a lower proportion of students overall than in the Borough.

There are significantly more skilled manual than semi- or unskilled manual student families. Again this reverses the picture for the whole Borough.

However, according to other researchers working in the Borough (personal communication from A. Phizacklea and R. Miles) there is a higher proportion of skilled manual and professional and managerial workers in the north of the Borough where these students lived than in the south where there is a disproportionate number of semi- and unskilled workers.

Appendix V

Analysis of Student's School Reports

Analysis is based on 122 report forms of White British, Asian and West Indian pupils. 'Other' students were excluded from the analysis, as were the three pupils on the school roll who appeared to have left and for whom no report forms had been prepared. There were three reports missing - one for a white British boy and those for two Asian girls. Every effort was made to obtain these three reports - the relevant form teachers, the careers teacher, any other members of staff (school secretaries, house heads) who might have been using them for preparing job or college references were asked but with no success. When I returned to the school for the end of Summer Term 'conference' to talk to pupils about some aspects of my work, I took the opportunity of again checking the files, but they were still missing. I cannot give an informed guess about the reasons for these report forms being lost to the school's filing system.

The breakdown of available school reports is given in Table 1.

Table 1 Available school reports x student's sex and ethnicity

	Girls	Boys	Total
White British	27	44	71
Asian	9	21	30
West Indian	8	13	21
Total	44	78	122

Information under the headings Social Effort, General Assessment, Personal and Social Qualities together with a note of the name of the teacher making comment in each section was transferred verbatim from the school report onto a separate index card for each pupil. Each student had already been assigned a code number and this was written on the reverse side of the card.

1. Content Analysis For Teachers' Values

A preliminary analysis of the reports was made during which all comments on all cards were scanned to draw out the major value dimensions. These values were noted on separate cards, together with some alternative wordings for what appeared to be the same value-dimension. For example, for the value 'Responsibility' the card contained the following alternative formulations: responsible, good sense of responsibility, lacks a sense of responsibility, needs to develop a greater sense of responsibility, irresponsible. In all cases only the teachers' own words were used. Most value dimensions had a positive and negative aspect.

Coding sheets were prepared, one for each value, on which information was to be entered in the appropriate space for each of the 122 students.

A naive judge, that is one who did not know what information was incorporated into the student's code number and who, obviously, had had no part in data-gathering or in Torville School itself, was asked to code information, using only the students' reports and the preliminary definitions of each value which had been already decided. She was instructed to code any word or phrase once only, to code positive mentions with a tick and negative mentions with a cross in the blank space next to the relevant student's code number. Where the student's report contained no comment a 0 was placed in the space.*

Independently, I went through the same process. The resulting information from the two judges was compared; in a data pool of 1072 items (i.e. words or phrases coded once) there was disagreement over 21 items (98% inter-judge reliability). In two cases this concerned the connotation of items, and in nineteen cases there was disagreement about which value an item should be coded into - for example, was 'working well'

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* I should like to thank Ms. M. Roach for her considerable help in this part of the analysis.

to be coded in the 'consistency' or 'use of abilities' category.

The definitions and frequency of mention of each of the 26 values resulting from this first sorting are listed below in alphabetical order.

Definition of each value (first sorting)

In all cases, all words/phrases used in the definition are taken from school reports, although the label e.g. 'Behaviour difficulty' has been given by the author. In each case the positive (P) items are given first, followed by the negative (N) ones. The figure in brackets indicates the number of comments made in each category.

1. Attendance (29)

   P. Attendance and/or punctuality is excellent.

   N. Frequent absences, continuous absence, main aim must be regular attendance, has missed a considerable amount of time from school, has casual approach to punctuality, consistently poor attendance, must realise punctuality is important, nearly always late for registration, must improve punctuality at registration and lessons.

2. Behaviour Difficulty (11)

   P. None.

   N. Behaviour is erratic, disruptive, rebellious, guilty of much anti-social behaviour, unsettled behaviour in the classroom, bad influence on his peer group.

3. Cheerfulness (18)

   P. Cheerful, quiet sense of humour.

   N. None.

4. Conscientiousness (83)

   P. Diligent, studious, conscientious, hard-working, works/tries hard.

   N. Not diligent, lacks application, lacks effort.

5. Consistency (53)

   P. Applies himself to the various subjects, consistent worker,

consistent, steady pupil, working steadily.

N. Erratic effort, needs more consistent effort, weaknesses in (specified) subjects.

6. Co-operation (124)

P. Co-operative, willing.

N. Unco-operative, does not take helpful criticism kindly.

7. Courtesy (12)

P. Courteous, polite.

N. None.

8. Distractability (6)

P. None.

N. Lacks concentration, must try to concentrate his energies more on the job in hand, allows himself to be distracted from his work/studies, needs to pay more attention to work.

9. Helpfulness (33)

P. Helpful, her help is much appreciated.

N. Not always helpful.

10. Honesty (5)

P. Honest, trustworthy.

N. Cannot be trusted.

11. Intelligence/Capability (14)

P. Intelligent, capable.

N. Has difficulty with many subjects, has difficulty in learning.

12. Interest in School Activities (8)

P. Tries to play a full part in school life, given support to the House.

N. Seems detached from school life, has not made much effort to contribute to school or House activity, could play a bigger part in school life, school seems to pass him by, lacks interest in school.

13. Interest in School Work (4)

P. None.

N. Lacks interest in school work, could take more interest in his work.

14. Leadership (13)

P. Keen to organise house activities, good organiser of games, capable school prefect/house captain, has ability to lead, leading member of house.

N. Lacking in initiative, "follows the crowd", follows those who are more confident.

15. Liveliness (25)

P. Lively, active, keen to participate.

N. Retiring, inactive, quiet (in an obviously negative context).

16. Maturity (57)

P. Mature, mature attitude, mature attitude to school life/work.

N. Lacks maturity, a little immature, could be more mature to others, childish on occasions, a mature approach to his studies would help, still needs a more mature attitude to work/ classroom behaviour.

17. Motivation (11)

P. Determined to do well.

N. Lacking motivation, should aim higher, undermotivated.

18. Pleasantness (211)

P. Pleasant, pleasing personality, charming, immediately likeable personality.

N. Arrogant.

19. Quiet (35)

P. Quiet (in an unambiguously positive context).

N. Talkative, loud.

20. Reliability (97)

P. Reliable.

N. Unreliable.

21. Responsibility (14)

P. Responsible, good sense of responsibility.

N. Irresponsible, lacks sense of responsibility, needs to develop a greater sense of responsibility.

22. Self-confidence (4)

P. (None).

N. Not very confident, lacks confidence in his relationships, needs to gain more self assurance.

23. Self-control (2)

P. Exercising much more self-control.

N. Lacks self-control.

24. Seriousness (24)

P. Serious, serious attitude to school/life, good attitude to work.

N. Flippant attitude, casual approach/attitude to school work, requires more serious approach to his studies, poor attitude to work.

25. Sociability (5)

P. Sociable.

N. Shy.

26. Use of abilities (174)

P. Works well; pleasing progress; making every effort to reach the required standard/to ensure success; using his potential; makes the best use of his ability; making progress; produces favourable results.

N. Capable if he applies himself, but he doesn't; not without ability but has spoilt his chances of gaining the qualification

he should have secured; has ability but lacks effort/care; has ability and now is the time to use it; is capable but has wasted this year; has ability but must be prepared to use it; clearly has ability and we eagerly await its use; has to improve her performance.

A second sort confirmed that it was reasonable to collapse these into 14 categories, without loss of nuance and without substantially altering the overall meaning of the concepts. These fourteen categories are the ones referred to in chapter 6 where teachers' teaching values are discussed. The categories are summarised here, ranked in order of the frequency of mentions, together with a mean mentions score. This is computed by dividing the total numbers of mentions by the total number of students to whom it was applied and yields an approximate indication of the salience of a value to teachers. (The maximum number of times any value was mentioned in relation to any one student was 4 though this was very rare.) Thus a mean mention score of 1.00 indicates that the value was mentioned only once in relation to any student, while a score greater than 1.00 indicates that in some instances the value was attributed more than once to some students.

There were two additional items not coded into any of the categories; these are 'physically small' in relation to a white British girl and 'well co-ordinated in P.E.' with respect to a West Indian boy. These two items have been ignored in the content analysis of teachers' values, though the latter comment was scored positive and added to the boy's score for the subsequent stages of analysis of school reports since it seems unambiguously positive in tone.

Teachers' values ranked by frequency of mentions (Second Sort)

Rank	Second sort label	First sort value label	Mean mentions
1.	Pleasantness (n=223)	pleasantness courtesy	2.10
2.	Use of abilities (n=185)	use of abilities motivation	1.64
3.	Co-operation (n=157)	co-operation helpfulness	1.69
4.	Attitude to working (n=107)	conscientiousness seriousness	1.39
5.	Reliability (n=102)	reliability honesty	1.36
6.	Maturity (n=71)	maturity responsibility	1.37
7.	Consistency (n=53)	consistency	1.08
8.	Manageability (n=48)	behaviour difficulty quietness self-control	1.30
9.	Liveliness (n=33)	liveliness interest in school activities	1.38
10.	Attendance (n=29)	attendance	1.38
11.	Extraversion (n=27)	cheerful self-confident sociable	1.13
12.	Intelligence (n=14)	intelligence	1.00
13.	Leadership (n=13)	leadership	1.30
14.	Distractibility (n=10)	distractibility interest in school work	1.25

2. Categorising Students Into A Typology Of 'Good', 'Bad', 'Conspicuous', and 'Unobtrusive' Pupils

Each word or phrase on a school report counts as one item of information for the content analysis. Items may have a positive or negative connotation e.g. 'helpful' was coded positive while 'disruptive' was coded negative. For each student two scores were computed - the number of negative items and the number of positive items (ignoring the teaching 'value' into which these items had been coded).

School reports vary in the numbers of items mentioned - in the present case the range is 2 to 14 items altogether, with a mean for the whole sample of 8.79 (negative and positive items summed); of 1.97 for negative comments; and 6.82 for positive comments.

To take account of the fact that teachers' comments are predominantly positive in tone (positive comments (n=832) are 78% and negative comments (n=240) are only 22% of all comments), and that the pool of information from school reports varies in size as between pupils it was decided to divide pupils into groups using a median split. For the whole sample taken together for negative comments the median is between 1 and 2 and for positive comments is between 7 and 8. Thus, students receiving 0 or 1 negative comment were defined as below the median and those receiving 2 or more were defined as above the median for negative comments. This yields 67 students below and 57 above the median for negative comments. Similarly, for positive comments, students receiving 0 to 7 positive comments were defined as below the median and those receiving 8 or more as above the median. This yields 66 below and 56 above the median for positive comments.

On this basis students can be allocated into one of four groups according to where they fall in relation to the medians for positive and negative comments, thus:

		Positive Comments: above median	Positive Comments: below median
Negative comments	above median	'Conspicuous' pupils	'Bad' pupils
	below median	'Good' pupils	'Unobtrusive' pupils

The terms 'good' and 'bad' pupil are self-explanatory but 'conspicuous' and 'unobtrusive' require some explanation. 'Conspicuous' students are those about whom teachers wrote at some length; they received rather elaborated school reports. Because they received a large number of mentions, even if the positive outweigh the negative, these students nevertheless received sufficient negative mentions to bring them above the median for the sample. They are called conspicuous because the relatively extended comments which teachers made about them suggests that they were fairly noticeable/well-known to teachers. 'Unobtrusive' students are those about whom teachers wrote very little and thus while they received relatively few negative comments they also received very few positive comments. It is suggested that students about whom teachers wrote so little probably do not attract attention to themselves or for some other reason are not particularly well-known to teachers. Hence they are called 'Unobtrusive'.

Using a median split in this way the 122 students fall into the four categories as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 Typology of students x student's sex and ethnicity

	Good	Bad	Unobtrusive	Conspicuous	Total
White British boys	12	19	11	2	44
" " girls	11	9	4	3	27
Asian boys	12	2	4	3	21
" girls	6	2	1	0	9
West Indian boys	2	10	0	1	13
" " girls	2	2	2	2	8
Total	45 (37%)	44 (36%)	22 (18%)	11 (9%)	122 (100%)

3. Analysis Of Variance

The data obtained from the content analysis was subjected to an Analysis of Variance for positive and negative items separately using the GLIM program*.

A. Sex and ethnicity

For this purpose scores for each ethnic and sex-category of student were combined and divided by the number of relevant students in that category to yield a mean mentions score for positive items; negative items were dealt with in a similar way to obtain a mean mentions score for negative items, finally the positive and negative items were summed and divided by the number of students in a particular ethnic and sex category to yield an overall mean mentions score. These data are set out in Table 3.

B. Sex, ethnicity and social class

For this purpose scores for each ethnic, sex and social class category were combined and divided by the number of relevant students in that category to yield a mean mentions score for positive, then similarly for negative, items. The data were subjected to Analysis of Variance three separate times, using a different definition for a student's social class in each analysis. These definitions are more fully explained in the text and in the preceding Appendix (IV).

Table 4 sets out information using the traditional definition of social class i.e. occupation of head of household.

Table 5 gives data for social class where those who are clearly of manual origin are compared with those who are clearly non-manual combined with those who are of ambiguous class location. This is termed the higher-ranked definition of social class.

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* This program, the Generalised Linear Model, is the only one I know which can deal with differing sample sizes.

Table 6 sets out information for social class defined in terms of the lower-ranked parental occupation i.e. clearly non-manual students are compared with those who are clearly manual and those of ambiguous class location.

Table 3 Positive and negative items in students' school report: aggregated data x students' sex and ethnicity (excluding 'other' students)

		positive items		negative items		items combined	
		n.	mean	n.	mean	n.	mean
White British	(total)	448	6.31	144	2.03	592	8.34
	girls	189	7.00	49	1.81	238	8.81
	boys	259	5.89	95	2.16	354	8.05
Asian	(total)	259	8.63	26	0.87	285	9.50
	girls	72	8.00	7	0.78	79	8.78
	boys	187	8.90	19	0.91	206	9.81
West Indian	(total)	125	5.95	70	3.33	195	9.29
	girls	62	7.75	15	1.87	77	9.63
	boys	63	4.85	55	4.23	118	9.08
Total (all students)		832	6.82	240	1.97	1072	8.79
All girls		323	7.34	71	1.61	394	8.95
All boys		509	6.53	169	2.17	678	8.69

Analysis of Variance: Negative Items

Ethnicity effect	F = 10.321	(2,116 d.f.)	sig. at .01
Sex effect	F = 3.105	(1,116 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity x sex interaction	F = 2.309	(2,116 d.f.)	not sig.

Positive Items

Ethnicity effect	F = 7.374	(2,116 d.f.)	sig. at .01
Sex effect	F = 2.824	(1,116 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity x sex interaction	F = 2.144	(2,116 d.f.)	not sig.

Table 4 Positive and negative items in students' school reports (excluding 'other' students): aggregated data x student's sex, ethnicity and social class (head of household definition) N=105

A. Negative Items (Means)

Total sample 2.143

Boys 2.406				Girls 1.732	
Asian	1.130	White British	2.113	West Indian	3.400
Asian boys	1.188	White British boys	2.278	West Indian boys	4.417
Asian girls	1.000	White British girls	1.885	West Indian girls	1.875

	Manual	Non-Manual
Total	2.51	1.38
Asian boys	1.50	1.00
White British boys	2.56	1.64
West Indian boys	4.45	4.00
Asian girls	1.20	0.50
White British girls	2.06	1.56
West Indian girls	2.14	0.00
Boys	2.91	1.46
Girls	1.93	1.25
Asian	1.36	0.92
White British	2.36	1.60
West Indian	3.56	2.00

Analysis of Variance:

Ethnicity effect	F = 4.684 (2,93 d.f.)	significant at .05
Sex effect	F = 3.663 (1,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Social class effect	F = 2.958 (1,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity/Sex interaction	F = 2.054 (2,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity/Social class interaction	F = 0.117 (2,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Social class/Sex interaction	F = 0.211 (1,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity/Sex/Social class interaction	F = 0.211 (2,93 d.f.)	not sig.

Table 4 (continued)

B. Positive Items (Means)

Total sample 6.752

Boys 6.406 Girls 7.293

Asian	8.696	White British	6.274	West Indian	6.000
Asian boys	9.000	White British boys	5.778	West Indian boys	4.833
Asian girls	8.000	White British girls	6.962	West Indian girls	7.750

	Manual	Non-Manual
Total	6.34	7.62
Asian boys	8.83	9.10
White British boys	5.76	5.82
West Indian boys	4.36	10.00
Asian girls	8.40	7.00
White British girls	6.47	7.89
West Indian girls	7.57	9.00
Boys	5.83	7.50
Girls	7.07	7.83
Asian	8.64	8.75
White British	6.05	6.75
West Indian	5.61	9.50

Analysis of Variance:

Ethnicity effect	F = 4.726 (2,93 d.f.)	significant at .05
Sex effect	F = 3.021 (1,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Social class effect	F = 1.559 (1,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity/Sex interaction	F = 1.535 (2,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity/Social class interaction	F = 0.828 (2,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Social class/Sex interaction	F = 0.000 (1,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity/Sex/Social class interaction	F = 0.818 (2,93 d.f.)	not sig.

Table 5 Positive and negative items in students' school reports (excluding 'other' students): aggregated data x student's sex, ethnicity and social class (higher ranked occupation definition) (N=105)

A. Negative Items (Means)

Total sample 2.143

Boys 2.406			Girls 1.732		
Asian	1.130	White British	1.732	West Indian	3.400
Asian boys	1.188	White British boys	2.278	West Indian boys	4.417
Asian girls	1.000	White British girls	1.885	West Indian girls	1.875

	Manual	Non-Manual
Total	2.40	1.95
Asian boys	1.50	1.00
White British boys	2.80	2.08
West Indian boys	3.71	5.40
Asian girls	1.20	0.50
White British girls	2.42	1.43
West Indian girls	2.00	1.67
Boys	2.74	2.22
Girls	2.05	1.37
Asian	1.36	0.92
White British	2.59	1.85
West Indian	3.00	4.00

Analysis of Variance

Ethnicity effect	F = 6.701 (2,93 d.f.)	significant at .01
Sex effect	F = 4.244 (1,93 d.f.)	significant at .05
Social class effect	F = 1.439 (1,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity/Sex interaction	F = 2.086 (2,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity/Social class interaction	F = 1.558 (2,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Sex/Social class interaction	F = 0.240 (1,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity/Sex/Social class interaction	F = 0.336 (2,93 d.f.)	not sig.

Table 5 (continued)

B. Positive Items (Means)

Total sample 6.752

Boys 6.406 Girls 7.293

Asian	8.696	White British	6.274	West Indian	6.000
Asian boys	9.000	White British boys	5.778	West Indian boys	4.833
Asian girls	8.000	White British girls	6.962	West Indian girls	7.750

	Manual	Non-Manual
Total	6.93	6.62
Asian boys	8.83	9.10
White British boys	5.00	5.73
West Indian boys	5.43	4.00
Asian girls	8.40	7.00
White British girls	6.42	7.43
West Indian girls	8.60	6.33
Boys	6.52	6.34
Girls	7.36	7.21
Asian	8.64	8.75
White British	6.18	6.33
West Indian	6.75	4.88

Analysis of Variance:

Ethnicity effect	F = 5.77 (2,93 d.f.)	significant at .01
Sex effect	F = 2.67 (1,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Social class effect	F = 0.00 (1,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity x sex interaction	F = 1.832 (2,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity x social class interaction	F = 0.925 (2,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Sex x social class interaction	F = 0.095 (1,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity x sex x social class interaction	F = 0.386 (2,93 d.f.)	not sig.

Table 6 Positive and negative items in students' school reports (excluding 'other' students) aggregated data x student's sex, ethnicity and social class (lower ranked occupation definition) N = 105

A. Negative Items (Means)

Total sample 2.143

	Boys 2.406			Girls 1.732	
Asian	1.130	White British	2.113	West Indian	3.400
Asian boys	1.188	White British boys	2.278	West Indian boys	4.417
Asian girls	1.000	White British girls	1.885	West Indian girls	1.875

	Manual	Non-Manual
Total	2.43	1.38
Asian boys	1.40	0.83
White British boys	2.54	1.60
West Indian boys	4.46	4.00
Asian girls	1.20	0.50
White British girls	2.06	1.56
West Indian girls	2.14	0.00
Boys	2.75	1.47
Girls	1.93	1.25
Asian	1.33	0.75
White British	2.35	1.58
West Indian	3.56	2.00

Analysis of Variance

Ethnicity effect	F = 5.65 (2,93 d.f.)	significant at .01
Sex effect	F = 3.26 (1,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Social class effect	F = 2.78 (1,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity/Sex interaction	F = 2.18 (2,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity/Social class interaction	F = 0.12 (2,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Social class/Sex interaction	F = 0.21 (1,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity/Sex/Social class interaction	F = 0.22 (2,93 d.f.)	not sig.

Table 6 (continued)

B. Positive Items (Means)

Total sample 6.752

Boys 6.406 Girls 7.293

Asian	8.696	White British	6.274	West Indian	6.000
Asian boys	9.000	White British boys	5.778	West Indian boys	4.833
Asian girls	8.000	White British girls	6.962	West Indian girls	7.750

	Manual	Non-Manual
Total	6.47	7.55
Asian boys	8.60	9.67
White British boys	5.89	5.70
West Indian boys	4.36	10.00
Asian girls	8.40	7.00
White British girls	6.47	7.89
West Indian girls	7.57	9.00
Boys	6.11	7.35
Girls	7.07	7.83
Asian	8.53	8.00
White British	6.12	6.74
West Indian	5.61	9.50

Analysis of Variance:

Ethnicity effect	F = 5.496 (2,93 d.f.)	significant at .01
Sex effect	F = 2.674 (1,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Social class effect	F = 1.386 (1,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity/Sex interaction	F = 1.718 (2,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity/Social class interaction	F = 0.827 (2,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Social class/Sex interaction	F = 0.000 (1,93 d.f.)	not sig.
Ethnicity/Sex/Social class interaction	F = 1.109 (2,93 d.f.)	not sig.

Tables 7A, B, 8, 9 and 10 set out further information on the distribution of teachers' remarks on school reports.

Table 7A — Total number of comments received by girls and boys on their school reports

	Number of comments													
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Total
Boys	1	1	3	5	7	11	10	8	12	6	6	5	3	(678)
Girls	0	0	1	2	2	5	9	9	5	6	2	2	1	(394)

Range: Boys 2 - 14, Girls 4 - 14.

Table 7B

	2-5	6-10	11-14	Total
Boys	10 (13%)	48 (62%)	20 (26%)	78
Girls	3 (7%)	30 (68%)	11 (25%)	44
Total	13 (11%)	78 (64%)	31 (25%)	122

X^2 (corrected) = 0.577, 2 df, not significant.

Table 8 — Positive and negative comments received by boys and girls (Group Totals)

	N	Positive	Negative	Total
Boys	78 (64%)	509 (75%) (61%)	169 (25%) (70%)	678 (100%) (63%)
Girls	44 (36%)	323 (82%) (39%)	71 (18%) (30%)	394 (100%) (37%)
Total	122	832 (78%)	240 (22%)	1072 (100%)

Male and female pupils receive comments in proportion to their representation in Band U.

Ratio of positive to negative comments: Boys 3:1
Girls 4:1

Table 9 Number and proportions of male and female pupils receiving positive, negative and mixed comments in each teaching value (Boys n=78, Girls n=44)

	Positive comments				Negative comments				Mixed comments*				All comments					
	Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Pleasantness**	43	98	62	80	0	-	1	1	0	-	0	-	43	98	63	81	106	87
Use of Abilities	20	45	35	45	15	34	25	32	4	9	14	8	39	89	74	95	113	93
Co-operation	36	82	52	67	0	-	3	4	1	2	1	1	37	84	56	72	93	76
Attitude to Working	22	50	33	42	5	11	15	19	0	-	2	3	27	61	50	64	77	63
Reliability	25	57	46	59	0	-	4	5	0	-	0	-	25	57	50	64	75	61
Maturity	13	30	25	32	2	5	12	15	0	-	0	-	15	34	37	47	52	43
Consistency	2	5	11	14	18	41	17	22	0	-	1	1	20	45	29	37	49	40
Manageability	9	20	17	22	2	5	8	10	0	-	1	1	11	25	26	33	37	30
Liveliness	7	16	10	13	5	11	1	1	0	-	1	1	12	27	12	15	24	20
Attendance	2	5	1	1	7	16	11	14	0	-	0	-	9	20	12	15	21	17
Extraversion	6	14	14	18	2	5	2	3	0	-	0	-	8	18	16	21	24	20
Intelligence	5	11	5	6	1	2	3	4	0	-	0	-	6	14	8	10	14	11
Leadership**	7	16	0	-	1	2	2	3	0	-	0	-	8	18	2	3	10	8
Distractibility	0	-	0	-	0	-	8	10	0	-	0	-	0	-	8	10	8	7

* Where a pupil receives a positive mention in a particular value from one teacher and a negative mention in the same value from another teacher s/he is counted in this column.

** Difference between boys and girls yield X^2 value significant at .02.

Table 10 Number of positive and negative comments in each teaching value, by sex of pupil

	Girls (n=44)			Boys (n=77)			Mean mentions (all comments)	
	+ve	-ve	% +ve	+ve	-ve	% +ve	Girls	Boys
Pleasantness	93	0	100	129	1	99	2.16	2.06
Use of Abilities	33	21	61	79	52	60	1.38	1.77
Co-operation	65	1	98	87	4	96	1.78	1.63
Attitude to Working	32	5	91	47	23	67	1.37	1.40
Reliability	35	0	100	63	4	94	1.40	1.34
Maturity	17	2	89	35	17	67	1.27	1.40
Consistency	2	20	9	12	19	39	1.10	1.07
Manageability	12	2	86	21	13	62	1.27	1.31
Liveliness	10	8	56	12	3	80	1.50	1.25
Attendance	3	8	27	2	16	11	1.22	1.50
Extraversion	6	3	67	16	2	89	1.13	1.13
Intelligence	5	1	83	5	3	63	1.00	1.00
Leadership	10	1	91	0	2	*	1.38	1.00
Distractibility	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	10	*	n/a	1.43

* 100% negative

APPENDIX VI

Measures of Students' Academic Aspirations, Examination Performance and Self Concept

1. Academic Aspirations

Students were asked to give details of the exams which they hoped to take, on a questionnaire administered at school to all whose parents had given permission for their child to take part in the research. Of the 112 white British, West Indian and Asian pupils who completed a questionnaire 111 had a clear idea of the number and type of exams they wished to take, while one (a West Indian boy) had no idea. Students could be entered for GCE O level, CSE or an AEB joint GCE/O level exam. Students who were going to attempt the latter have been coded as wanting to take GCE O level and the exam has been counted once only.

Table 1 sets out students' aspirations concerning O level, Table 2 similar information concerning CSE; and Table 3 summarises the total number of exams which students wished to take. Table 4 places students into a typology of High and Low academic aspirations. Table 5 places students into a four-fold typology based on overall and O level aspirations. Table 6 breaks down this typology by students' sex-class and ethnicity.

Students' aspirations as measured by the examinations they expected to pass, are set out in Tables 7 to 11. Table 12 compares teachers' perception of students with students' level of overall aspiration.

Table 1 Number of O level examinations students hoped to take, by sex and ethnicity (n=111)

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
White British boys	12	7	5	1	5	2	2	1	2	0	37
White British girls	4	0	3	6	3	4	5	0	1	1	27
(Total)	(16)	(7)	(8)	(7)	(8)	(6)	(7)	(1)	(3)	(1)	(64)
Asian boys	1	2	1	1	3	3	4	2	1	0	18
Asian girls	1	2	2	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	10
(Total)	(2)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(4)	(5)	(4)	(2)	(2)	(0)	(28)
West Indian boys*	4	2	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	11
West Indian girls	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	1	0	2	8
(Total)	(4)	(2)	(2)	(5)	(2)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(2)	(19)
Total boys	17	11	7	5	9	5	6	3	3	0	66
Total girls	5	2	6	9	5	7	5	1	2	3	45
Grand Total	22	13	13	14	14	12	11	4	5	3	111

* 1 boy did not know how many exams he hoped to take. He is excluded from this table.

Mean number of examinations which all students hoped to take = 3.225 (i.e. between 3 and 4); Girls = 3.911, Boys = 2.758 Range = 0 to 9.

Dividing the sample into above the median (i.e. hoping to take 4 to 9 exams) and below the median (hoping to take 3 or fewer) yields the following figures:

Above median = 49

Below median = 62

Table 2 Number of CSE examinations students hoped to take, by sex and ethnicity (n=111)

		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
White British boys		3	2	4	6	6	9	5	2	0	37
White British girls		2	3	8	6	4	2	1	1	0	27
	(Total)	(5)	(5)	(12)	(12)	(10)	(11)	(6)	(3)	(0)	(64)
Asian boys		1	6	3	4	1	1	1	0	1	18
Asian girls		1	0	2	1	3	0	3	0	0	10
	(Total)	(2)	(6)	(5)	(5)	(4)	(1)	(4)	(0)	(1)	(28)
West Indian boys*		0	0	0	3	2	5	1	0	0	11
West Indian girls		2	0	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	8
	(Total)	(2)	(0)	(1)	(5)	(4)	(6)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(19)
Total boys		4	8	7	13	9	15	7	2	1	66
Total girls		5	3	11	9	9	3	4	1	0	45
Grand total		9	11	18	22	18	18	11	3	1	111

* 1 boy did not know how many exams he hoped to take. He is excluded from this table.

Mean number of examinations which all students hoped to take = 3.342 (i.e. between 3 and 4); Girls = 2.978, Boys = 3.576 Range = 0 to 8.

Dividing the sample into those above the median (hoping to take 4 to 8 exams) and those below (hoping to take 3 or less) yields the following figures:

Above median = 51

Below median = 60

Table 3 Total number of examinations students hoped to take during their fifth year at Torville, by sex and ethnicity (n=111)

		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
White British boys		1	0	1	1	0	7	11	9	6	1	37
White British girls		0	0	0	3	0	3	2	11	6	2	27
	(Total)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(4)	(0)	(10)	(13)	(20)	(12)	(3)	(64)
Asian boys		0	0	0	0	0	1	2	11	3	1	18
Asian girls		0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	2	0	10
	(Total)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(6)	(15)	(5)	(1)	(28)
West Indian boys*		0	0	0	0	1	2	5	3	0	0	11
West Indian girls		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	3	8
	(Total)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(2)	(5)	(7)	(1)	(3)	(19)
Total boys		1	0	1	1	1	10	18	23	9	2	66
Total girls		0	0	0	3	0	3	6	19	9	5	45
Grand Total		1	0	1	4	1	13	24	42	18	7	111

* 1 boy did not know how many exams he hoped to take. He is excluded from this table.

Mean number of examinations which all students hoped to take = 6.568 (i.e. between 6 and 7); Girls = 6.889, Boys = 6.333 Range = 0 to 9.

Dividing students into those who wished to take 6 or fewer exams (i.e. below the median) and those aiming to take 7 or more (i.e. above the median) yields the following figures:

Above median = 67

Below median = 44

Table 4 High and low aspirers (n=111), by sex and ethnicity

	Total number of exams students hoped to take		
	Above median	Below median	Total
	High Aspirers	Low Aspirers	
White British boys	16	21	37
White British girls	19	8	27
(Total)	(35)	(29)	(64)
West Indian boys	3	8	11
West Indian girls	8	0	8
(Total)	(11)	(8)	(19)
Asian boys	15	3	18
Asian girls	6	4	10
(Total)	(21)	(7)	(28)
Total boys	34	32	66
Total girls	33	12	45
Grand Total	67	44	111

By comparing students' overall aspirations (i.e. total number of exams which they wished to take) with their specific academic aspirations (i.e. number of a particular type - GCE or CSE - of exam) the following groups can be discerned:

Table 5 Overall academic aspirations

		Above median	Below median	Total
O level aspirations	Above median	High quantity high value n=46	Low quantity high value n=3	49
	Below median	High quantity low value n=21	Low quantity low value n=41	62
	Total	67	44	111

X^2 = 41.186, 1 df, significant at .01.

Those who have high overall aspirations are more likely to be aiming at high numbers of O levels than at CSE. Those with low overall aspirations are more likely to be aiming at CSE than O level.

Table 6 O level aspirations of high and low aspirers, by sex and ethnicity

A. High Aspirers

	High quantity and value*	High quantity, low value**	Total
White British boys	11	5	16
White British girls	13	6	19
West Indian boys	1	2	3
West Indian girls	5	3	8
Asian boys	12	3	15
Asian girls	4	2	6
Total	46	21	67

B. Low Aspirers

	Low quantity, high value+	Low quantity, and value$	Total
White British boys	1	20	21
White British girls	1	7	8
West Indian boys	0	8	8
West Indian girls	0	0	0
Asian boys	1	2	3
Asian girls	0	4	4
Total	3	41	44

* = Above median for total number of exams and above median for number of O levels.

** = Above median for total number of exams and below median for number of O levels.

+ = Below median for total number of exams and above median for O levels.

$ = Below median for total number of exams and below median for O levels.

Table 7 Total number of exams students expected to pass, by sex and ethnicity (n=111)

	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	D/K	Total
White British boys	0	1	6	6	8	9	2	2	1	1	1	37
White British girls	0	4	6	2	4	3	2	5	0	1	0	27
(Total)	(0)	(5)	(12)	(8)	(12)	(12)	(4)	(7)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(64)
West Indian boys	0	0	1	5	1	2	0	1	0	0	1	11
West Indian girls	0	3	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	8
(Total)	(0)	(3)	(1)	(6)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(2)	(19)
Asian boys	1	1	3	4	4	3	0	2	0	0	0	18
Asian girls	0	1	1	3	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	10
(Total)	(1)	(2)	(4)	(7)	(8)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(28)
Total boys	1	2	10	15	13	14	2	5	1	1	2	66
Total girls	0	8	7	6	10	3	4	5	0	1	1	45
Grand Total	1	10	17	21	23	17	6	10	1	2	3	111

Mean number of examinations students expected to pass (excluding the three who did not give an estimate) = 5.148; Girls = 5.295, Boys = 5.047
Range = 0 to 9.

Dividing the sample of 108 into those above the median (expecting to pass 6 or more exams) and those below the median (expecting to pass 5 or fewer) yields the following:

Above the median = 49

Below the median = 59

By dividing students into High and Low aspirers and into those with high expectations of examination success and those with low expectations of success the following four-fold typology is obtained.

Table 8 Overall academic aspirations

Number of exams expect to pass	Above median	Below median	Total
Above median	38 Confident aspirers	11 Confident low aspirers	49
Below median	28 Unconfident aspirers	31 Unconfident low aspirers	59
Total	66	42	108

X^2 = 10.269, 1 df, significant at .01.

Table 9 Expectations of success of high and low aspirers, by students' sex and ethnicity (n=108)

	High Aspirers (n=66)		Low Aspirers (n=42)	
	High[$]	Low[+]	High[$]	Low[+]
White British boys (n=36)	10	6	3	17
White British girls (n=27)	12	7	0	8
West Indian boys (n=10)	3	0	3	4
West Indian girls (n=7)	4	3	0	0
Asian boys (n=18)	7	8	2	1
Asian girls (n=10)	2	4	3	1
Total	38	28	11	31

[$] Expected to pass 6 or more exams.

[+] Expected to pass 5 or fewer exams.

X^2 values (corrected)

White British boys vs. girls: 2.71, 3 df, not significant.

West Indian boys vs. girls: 5.776, 2 df*, approaching significance at .05.

Asian boys vs. girls: < 1, 2 df*, not significant.

White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: 11.897, 6 df, approaching significance at .05.

Girls vs. Boys: 2.764, 3 df, not significant.

Girls: White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: 8.267, 6 df, not significant.

Boys: White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: 11.83, 6 df, approaching significance at .05.

* Low aspirers combined.

Table 10 Number of examinations which low aspirers expect to pass (n=44)

	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	D/K	Total
White British boys	3	4	7	2	2	1	1	1	21
White British girls	0	1	1	1	4	0	1	0	8
(Total)	(3)	(5)	(8)	(3)	(6)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(29)
West Indian boys	3	1	2	0	1	0	0	1	8
West Indian girls	not applicable								n/a
(Total)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(8)
Asian boys	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
Asian girls	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
(Total)	(5)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(7)
Total boys	8	5	9	2	4	1	1	2	32
Total girls	3	1	1	2	4	0	1	0	12
Grand Total	11	6	10	4	8	1	2	2	44

Excluding the two who gave no estimate, the Mean number of examinations all students hoped to pass = 3.929 (i.e. between 3 and 4); Girls = 3.417, Boys = 4.133 Range of 0 to 6.

Dividing students by means of a median split yields the following:

Above the median (4 or more passes) = 27

Below the median (3 or fewer passes) = 15

Table 11 Number of examinations which high aspirers expect to pass (n=67)

	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	D/K	Total
White British boys	0	1	6	3	4	2	0	0	0	16
White British girls	0	4	6	2	3	2	1	1	0	19
(Total)	(0)	(5)	(12)	(5)	(7)	(4)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(35)
West Indian boys	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	3
West Indian girls	0	3	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	8
(Total)	(0)	(3)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(11)
Asian boys	1	1	3	2	4	3	0	1	0	15
Asian girls	0	1	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	6
(Total)	(1)	(2)	(4)	(2)	(8)	(3)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(21)
Total boys	1	2	10	7	8	5	0	1	0	34
Total girls	0	8	7	3	9	2	2	1	1	33
Grand Total	1	10	17	10	17	7	2	2	1	67

Excluding the one student who gave no estimate, students expected to pass a mean of 5.924 exams, Girls = 6.000, Boys = 5.853, with a Range of 2 to 9.

A median split of students yields the following:

Above the median (6 or more passes) = 38

Below the median (5 or fewer passes) = 28

Table 12 Teachers' perception of high and low aspirers, by students' sex and ethnicity (n=108)

	Aspiration	Good	Bad	Unobtrusive	Conspicuous	Total
White British boys	High	7	4	3	2	16
	Low	2	13	5	0	20*
White British girls	High	11	3	3	2	19
	Low	0	6	1	1	8
West Indian boys	High	0	2	0	1	3
	Low	1	7	0	0	8
West Indian girls	High	2	2	2	2	8
	Low	0	0	0	0	0
Asian boys	High	9	2	2	2	15
	Low	1	0	1	1	3
Asian girls	High	3	1	0	0	4**
	Low	2	1	1	0	4
Total	High	32	14	10	9	65 (ex 67)
Total	Low	6	27	8	2	43 (ex 44)
Grand Total		38	41	18	11	108 (ex 111)+
		(ex 45)	(ex 44)	(ex 22)	(ex 11)	(ex 122)$

* One boy could not be classifed in the pupil typology because no report was available.

** Two girls could not be classified in the pupil typology because no reports were available.

\+ One boy gave no estimate of number of exams he wished to take.

$ 11 pupils did not complete a questionnaire and cannot be classified into either a High or Low Aspiration group.

X^2 values (corrected) HIGH ASPIRERS

White British boys vs. girls: < 1, 3 df, not significant.
White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: 3.4, 6 df, not significant.
Girls vs. Boys: < 1, 3 df, not significant.
Girls: White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: < 3, 6 df, not significant.
Boys: White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: < 3, 6 df, not significant.

X^2 values (corrected): LOW ASPIRERS

White British vs. West Indian vs. Asian: 5.918, 6 df, not significant.
Girls vs. Boys: < 3, 6 df, not significant.

2. Examination performance

Students gave details of C.S.E., O level, joint GCE/CSE and other exams passed in answer to a question on a questionnaire sent to them approximately 18 months after they would have attempted public exams for the first time. Of the 112 West Indian, white British and Asian students contacted in this way 69 replied and 65 (95%) gave details of their examination performance. One white British boy specifically stated that he had taken no exams and 3 (white British boys) gave no answer. It is likely that this means they either took no exams or took some but passed none. However, these 3 have been excluded from analysis of examination performance. There was an indication that Bad male pupils were somewhat less likely to return their questionnaire than other students, but otherwise no evidence of response bias which would affect the present calculations. Full details of the response rate and a copy of the questionnaire may be found in Appendix III.

Tables 13 to 15 give details of the number of passes obtained by each student in total, in O levels and in CSE respectively. Where a student attempted a joint GCE/CSE and obtained a pass for each, the subject has been counted once only and coded into either an O level or a CSE pass according to whichever grade was the better.

Tables 16 and 17 give details about the number of examination 'units' each student obtained as a result of their combined O level and CSE passes.

Table 18 sets out examination passes for High and Low Aspirers separately.

Table 13 Total number of exams passed, by students' sex and ethnicity

	Number of exams passed												
	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	Total
White British boys	0	0	2	2	5	7	1	1	0	0	0	1	19
White British girls	1	1	3	4	4	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	18
(Total)	(1)	(1)	(5)	(6)	(9)	(8)	(2)	(1)	(3)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(37)
West Indian boys	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	5
West Indian girls	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
(Total)	(0)	(0)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(10)
Asian boys	0	2	2	6	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	14
Asian girls	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	5
(Total)	(0)	(2)	(2)	(8)	(5)	(0)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(19)
Total boys	0	2	5	8	10	7	1	2	1	1	0	1	38
Total girls	1	1	4	8	7	2	1	1	3	0	0	0	28
Grand Total	1	3	9	16	17	9	2	3	4	1	0	1	66

Mean number of exams passed = 6.955 for whole sample

= 7.143 for girls (Range = 3 to 11)

= 6.815 for boys (Range = 0 to 10)

Median split of students yields the following:

Above the median = 29 (8 or more exams)

Below the median = 37 (7 or fewer exams)

Table 14 Total number of O levels passed, by students' sex and ethnicity

	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	NI	Total
White British boys	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	2	4	2	8	18	37
White British girls	1	0	0	2	1	4	1	0	3	2	4	9	27
(Total)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1)	(2)	(7)	(4)	(12)	(27)	(64)
West Indian boys	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	7	12
West Indian girls	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	1	0	3	8
(Total)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(10)	(20)
Asian boys	0	0	1	3	3	4	2	0	1	0	0	4	18
Asian girls	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	5	10
(Total)	(0)	(0)	(2)	(3)	(3)	(4)	(3)	(0)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(9)	(28)
Total boys	0	0	2	3	6	5	3	2	5	2	10	29	67
Total girls	1	0	1	2	2	6	2	0	4	4	6	17	45
Grand Total	1	0	3	5	8	11	5	2	9	6	16	46	112

Mean number of O level exams passed by the 66 students for whom there is information = 3.364; Girls (n=28) = 3.357, Boys (n=38) = 3.368.

Range = 0 to 10.

A median split of the students gives the following:

Above median = 33 (4 or more passes)

Below median = 33 (3 or fewer passes)

Table 15 Total number of CSEs passed, by students' sex and ethnicity

	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	NI	Total
White British boys	3	6	3	2	1	0	1	3	18	37
White British girls	0	5	3	1	3	3	2	1	9	27
(Total)	(3)	(11)	(6)	(3)	(4)	(3)	(3)	(4)	(27)	(64)
West Indian boys	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	7	12
West Indian girls	1	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	3	8
(Total)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(5)	(3)	(0)	(0)	(10)	(20)
Asian boys	0	1	1	2	1	4	4	1	4	18
Asian girls	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	5	10
(Total)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(4)	(4)	(2)	(9)	(28)
Total boys	3	7	4	4	5	6	5	4	29	67
Total girls	3	5	3	3	6	4	2	2	17	45
Grand Total	6	12	7	7	11	10	7	6	46	112

Mean number of CSE passes (66 students) = 3.591; Girls (n=28) = 3.786, Boys (n=38) = 3.447. Range = 0 to 7.

Median split of students gives the following figures:

Above median = 32 (4 or more passes)

Below median = 34 (3 or fewer passes)

To take account of the fact that students obtained passes in a variable number of CSEs and O levels, graded passes in each of these exams have been assigned a numerical value in order to compare students with each other. Joint GCE/CSE exams, in which a student might receive an O level and/or a CSE grade have been treated as 1 exam and wherever a GCE O level grade was awarded this grade has been counted in preference to the CSE grade. In 1976, when students took the majority of their exams, the AEB set the minimum mark for a GCE grade C and for a CSE grade 1 at the same point, and so these have been treated as equivalent. Grade U at GCE and 6 at CSE have not been counted as passes. Driver (1977) used the following coding for the CSE results which he reported: Grade 1 or 2, 3 units; 3 or 4, 2 units; and 5 or 6, 1 unit. With the added complication of a sample taking CSE and O level, I have used the following system of numerical values, to keep this data reasonably comparable with that of Driver.

O level grade	A & B	C & D	E	
CSE grade		1 & 2	3 & 4	5
Numerical value	4	3	2	1

Table 16 Examination passes, by students' sex and ethnicity (n=65)

	N	Total exams	Total units	Mean units per exam	Mean units per student
White British boys	18	120	296	2.467	16.444
White British girls	18	128	355	2.773	19.722
West Indian boys	5	28	73	2.607	14.600
West Indian girls	5	38	103	2.711	20.600
Asian boys	14	111	338	3.045	24.143
Asian girls	5	30	93	3.100	18.600
Total boys	37	259	707	2.730	19.108
Total girls	28	196	551	2.811	19.679
Total - whole sample	65	455	1258	2.765	19.354

* 1 boy took no exams.

Table 17 Students obtaining high or low units, by sex and ethnicity

	High (20+)	Low (19-)	Total
White British boys	6	12	18
White British girls	10	8	18
West Indian boys	2	3	5
West Indian girls	3	2	5
Asian boys	13	1	14
Asian girls	3	2	5
Total	37	28	65

Table 18 Examination passes of high and low aspirers

A. High Aspirers:	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	N/I	Total
White British boys			2	2	3	5				4*	16
White British girls	1	1	3	4	3	1	1		1	4	19
West Indian boys					1					2	3
West Indian girls			1	2		1				4	8
Asian boys		2	2	6	2			1		2	15
Asian girls				2	2					2	6
Total	1	3	8	16	11	7	1	1	1	18	67

* includes one who returned a questionnaire without giving details of exams passed.

Mean number of exams passed = 7.531.

Median split: Above median = 28 (8 or more exams)

Below median = 21 (7 or fewer exams)

B. Low Aspirers:	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	0	N/I	Total
White British boys			2	2	1	1		1	14**	21
White British girls			1			2			5	8
West Indian boys	1		1			1			5	8
West Indian girls	Not applicable									
Asian boys			1						2	3
Asian girls						1			3	4
Total	1		5	2	1	2	3	1	29	44

** includes 2 who returned a questionnaire without giving details of exams passed.

Mean number of exams passed = 5.200.

Median split: Above median = 8 (6 or more exams)

Below median = 7 (5 or fewer exams)

Whole sample

Mean = 6.984. Of those who passed 7 or more exams (n=45) 39 (87%) were High Aspirers and 6 (13%) were Low Aspirers.

3. Measure of Self-Concept as Masculine/Feminine (BSRI)

One hundred and nine students completed the Bem Sex Role Inventory, 45 girls and 64 boys. Numbers fall short of the total in Band U for the same reasons that were set out in Appendix III, but in addition, by the time the BSRI was administered three boys who had completed a questionnaire earlier in the term had now left the school.

The BSRI requires a person to indicate the degree to which each of 60 items (words or phrases) applies to them on a scale ranging from 1 (never or almost never true) to 7 (always or almost always true). A person's score on each of the 20 Masculine (M) items is summed and divided by 20 to yield a mean M score whose theoretical range is 1 to 7. Exactly the same process occurs with the Feminine (F) items. The 20 Neutral items may also be analysed in this way, although for present purposes they were regarded as filler items and no such analysis has been undertaken.

At this point students in the present study were divided into separate ethnic groups for subsequent calculations. For ease these will be described in relation to one of the groups - West Indians - for whom full details will be given. These are set out in Tables 19 and 20.

All West Indian students were ranked from most to least Masculine according to their mean score on the M scale. Because of the differences in the number of boys and girls in the sample (12 boys, 8 girls) the rankings were weighted in the proportion of 2:3, so that students were ranked on a scale ranging from 48 to 1, with a rank of 48 assigned to the student with the lowest mean score on the M scale. Students were then divided, using a median split into those above the median (n=10) who were ranked 1 to 24 and those below the median (n=10) who were ranked 25 to 48. Exactly the same kind of calculations and ranking procedures were carried out on students' scores on the F scale, yielding a median split of 9 above the median (ranked 1 to 24) and 11 below the median (ranked 25 to 48).

On the basis of a student's position (above or below the median) on both the M and F scales, s/he was allocated to one of four categories of gender identity, as depicted below:

		Feminine Items	
		Above mean	Below mean
Masculine Items	Above mean	Androgynous	Masculine typed
	Below mean	Feminine typed	Undifferentiated

Tables 19 and 20 set out his information in full for West Indian students.

Asian and white British students' scores were treated in exactly the same way described for West Indian students, although the precise weighting for the ranks, dependent on the proportion of boys and girls in each of these ethnic groups, varied. Tables 21 and 22 set out summaries of information for Asian and white British students. In each case the weighting and range of rankings is given.

Table 19 BSRI scores: $\bar{X}$ M and F, weighted ranking for M and F: West Indian students (n=20)

	Masculinity		Femininity		
Sex-Class	$\bar{X}$ score	Rank	$\bar{X}$ score	Rank	Classification*
B	5.80	2	3.60	31	M
G	5.55	5	3.50	36=	M
B	5.40	7	3.75	28	M
B	5.35	9	4.50	10	A
B	5.26	11	3.05	44	M
B	5.15	13	5.00	2	A
B	5.05	15	3.00	46	M
B	5.00	17	3.60	31	M
B	4.95	19	4.25	16=	A
G	4.75	22	4.00	24	A
B	4.25	26=	3.45	42	U
G	4.25	26=	4.10	21	F
G	4.11	30	4.60	8	F
B	3.95	32	1.95	48	U
G	3.90	35	4.25	16=	F
B	3.70	37	3.85	26	U
G	3.65	40	4.40	13	F
G	3.40	43	4.75	5	F
B	3.25	45	3.47	40	U
G	3.15	48	3.50	36=	U

* M = Masculine, F = Feminine, U = Undifferentiated, A = Androgynous.

Table 20 Summary of BSRI data: West Indian students (n=20): mean, range, median split and gender-typing

	Boys (n=12)	Girls (n=8)	Both (n=20)
$\bar{X}$ M	4.759	4.095	4.494
Range	5.80 to 3.25	5.55 to 3.15	5.80 to 3.15
$\bar{X}$ F	3.614	4.138	3.829
Range	5.00 to 1.95	4.75 to 3.50	5.00 to 1.95
Above median M	8	2	10
Below median M	4	6	10
Above median F	3	6	9
Below median F	9	2	11
Categorised as:	%	%	%
Masculine	5 (42)	1 (12)	6 (30)
Feminine	0	5 (63)	5 (25)
Undifferentiated	4 (33)	1 (12)	5 (25)
Androgynous	3 (25)	1 (12)	4 (20)

Table 21 Summary of BSRI data: Asian students (n=28): mean, range, median split and gender-typing

	Boys (n=18)	Girls (n=10)	Both (n=28)
$\bar{X}$ M	4.428	4.065	4.298
Range	5.15 to 3.15	5.00 to 3.35	5.15 to 3.15
$\bar{X}$ F	4.152	4.710	4.351
Range	5.45 to 3.10	6.00 to 3.65	6.00 to 3.10
Above median M	13	3	16
Below median M	5	7	12
Above median F	5	7	12
Below median F	13	3	16

Categorised as:		%		%		%
Masculine	8	(44)	0		8	(29)
Feminine	0		4	(40)	4	(14)
Undifferentiated	5	(28)	3	(30)	8	(29)
Androgynous	5	(28)	3	(30)	8	(29)

(Weighting 1:2)

(Ranks 1 to 38)

Table 22 Summary of BSRI data: white British students (n=61): mean, range, median split and gender-typing

	Boys (n=34)	Girls (n=27)	Both (n=61)
$\bar{X}$ M	4.859	3.978	4.469
Range	6.15 to 2.70	5.65 to 2.75	6.15 to 2.70
$\bar{X}$ F	3.997	4.756	4.333
Range	5.35 to 2.60	5.60 to 3.10	5.60 to 2.60
Above median M	25	7	32
Below median M	9	20	29
Above median F	7	21	28
Below median F	27	6	33
Categorised as:	%	%	%
Masculine	21 (62)	2 (7)	23 (38)
Feminine	3 (9)	16 (59)	19 (31)
Undifferentiated	6 (18)	4 (15)	10 (16)
Androgynous	4 (12)	5 (19)	9 (15)

(Weighting 4:5)

(Ranks 1 to 271)

APPENDIX VII

Publications

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Chetwynd, J. and Hartnett, O. (eds.), 1978, The Sex Role System: Psychological and Sociological Perspectives, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

11 Sex-Role Stereotyping and Social Science

Mary Fuller

> while women have, legally, ceased to be minors, they still have the mentality of minors in many fields and, particularly in politics.... The man - husband, fiance, lover or myth - is the mediator between them and the political world. (Duverger, 1955)

> The husband brings to his politics a certain patina of realism, and in an interview a certain dialectical facility, while his wife remains a femme couverte at best able to repeat his views, without qualification or critique. (Riesman, 1956)

> The mindless matrons who followed their husbands' lead or direction could scarcely be said to be exercising a choice at all. They were, in every sense but the physical, non-voters. Politics for them had the character of a masonic or secret religious order. (Burns, 1961)

> I do not claim that females have no organisations; obviously they join and are active in a great number of social and service clubs. But female organisations affect political activity far less than male ones ... women do not form bonds. Dependent as most women are on the earnings and genes of men, they break ranks very soon. (Tiger, 1969)

> It is profoundly characteristic of the behaviour of the more fortunate strata of the community that responsibility for widespread non-participation is attributed wholly to the ignorance, indifference and shiftlessness of the people.... There is a better explanation. Abstention reflects the suppression of the options and alternatives that reflect the needs of the non-participants. (Schattschneider, 1960)

If psychology constructs the female as Weisstein (1969) and other writers since (see Hartnett, 1975; Litman, 1975b) have demonstrated, it is equally true that sociology and political science construct theories of society which are not capable of postulating political action by women. Moreover, these theories assume that conditions and life-styles for the sexes are such that a political challenge to them is unnecessary and undesirable. In this way mainstream sociology denies the possibility of the Women's Movement, is blind to the conditions which have treated it and, confronted with the actuality of political analysis and action by women, has shown itself unable to analyse its implications and potential importance. The growth in feminism and the development of an autonomous women's movement in America and Britain has not gone undocumented, but until recently the literature (Malos, 1972; Rowbotham, 1972, for Britain; Dixon, 1969; Freeman, 1969, for America) has mainly been ignored by so-called respectable academic journals.

THE GROWTH OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN

The existence of the Women's Liberation Movement as an organisation in Britain can be dated from at least 1970, when the Women's Conference at Ruskin College, Oxford, brought together participants from a variety of backgrounds: the trade union based National Joint Action Campaign for Women's Equal Rights; left-wing political activists; those who had been involved in the student movement of the late 1960s or in such organisations as CND and the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign; and those with experience of or in contact with the American Women's Liberation Movement. Since that date the continuing analysis of women's position in advanced industrial societies has suggested remedies which have been formulated into a set of demands whose content is reflected in task-orientated campaigns: wages for housework; family allowance campaign; free abortion and contraception on demand; women's refuges from violent men (Women's Aid); analysis of sexism in the media (Women in Media); the Campaign for Legal and Financial Independence; Women in Education. A 'working women's charter' in which these and other demands (e.g. for greater nursery provisions) are set out has also created an organisation whose aim is to get the charter accepted and implemented particularly by pressure and activity within the trade unions. A Women's Research Centre has been set up to act as a focal point for research on and undertaken by women. The

consciousness-raising group is an integral part of the women's movement. This is an informal gathering of women who meet to discuss and analyse their personal situations and to provide mutual support.

If the British Women's Movement had emerged from a vaccuum overnight the blindness of sociology to it as a social and political movement might be more understandable. And though as a form of radicalism the feminist movement may be qualitatively different from other kinds of radicalism (Weinreich, 1975), it is sufficiently like other social movements to have discernible beginnings, to have grown out of trends and events that were available knowledge to those who were interested. Most obviously there was the example of America where a women's movement had been in existence for some years previously and one of whose effects had been the setting up of women's caucuses in a number of professional associations (Rossi and Calderwood, 1973; Bernard, 1973) acting within and outside the professions as catalysts for change in the material situation of women and to their representation in the literature of the social and behavioural sciences.

Second there was the existence in America of legislative measures to combat discrimination on the basis of sex (Article VII, Civil Rights Act of 1964) which at the very least might have alerted interest as to why such a measure was considered necessary, who thought it to be so and in what way that opinion was articulated. Furthermore, when one considers that in America, discrimination on the basis of sex was made unlawful in a piece of legislation originally drawn up to fight racial discrimination, and that the analogy between the situation of blacks and women was being made in America and in Britain (Rendel, 1968) where legislation to combat racial discrimination also already existed (Race Relations Act, 1965), it is all the more surprising that sociologists did not pick up the suggested parallel between women and blacks made as early as 1944 (Myrdal, and see Hacker, 1951) in the academic literature.

This is not to suggest that sociology could or should have been able to predict the exact form of a feminine perspective or the way in which a renewed interest in the position of women would be manifested, nor to predict precisely when this would happen. Rather it is suggested that having had the example of the recent rise in black militancy and the analogy of the status of blacks and women pointed out, the possible meaning of other events both in America and Britain should have been perceived and the potential for a women's rights lobby more clearly recognised.

Though the relevance of trends in America is often problematic for analysts of British social and political life, in this instance discussions about the position of women were being carried on at about the same time in each country and the suggested means of remedying that position were also similar. In Britain, in 1967 Joyce Butler MP introduced a Private Members Bill to make discrimination against women illegal and each year until 1973 similar bills were introduced, though none passed a second reading. Meanwhile a Labour Party Study group was making interim reports on 'Discrimination against Women' and on women and social security (Labour Party, 1968 and 1969). At about the same time Conservative Party reports dealing with women's position were also published (Cooper and Howe, 1969; Conservative Party, 1969). 1970 saw the passing of the Equal Pay Act and the next year the setting up of the House of Lords Select Committee on the Anti-Discrimination (no. 2) Bill. In 1972 Anti-Discrimination Bills were introduced into the Lords by Lady Seear and into the Commons by Willie Hamilton MP, both of which passed their second reading but were referred to Select Committees which reported in 1973 and concluded that legislation was required. Evidence to these Committees provides a great deal of information about discriminatory practices and the depressed status of women. Later in the same year the Conservative government issued a consultative document setting out its own proposals for 'Equal Opportunities for Men and Women' and this was followed in 1974 by the new Labour government White Papers 'Equality for Women' and 'Better Pensions' which superseded their earlier opposition Green Paper (Labour Party, 1972).

Britain's entry into the European Community during this period also brought to public notice the differing social, economic and political positions of women in these countries as Britain was obliged to consider ways in which its legislation and provision for social security, maternity leave, equal pay, pensions, etc. could be harmonised with the standards prevailing amongst its partners in the Common Market. (In most, but not all cases this required making better provisions than currently existed in Britain.) What this has done is to expose the differences and similarities in the way that governments define women and dependency as well as making available comparative data about women in Europe (see Department of Employment, 1975a).

REASONS FOR MAINSTREAM SOCIOLOGY'S BLINDNESS TO THE GROWTH OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Structural weaknesses in the theories of society upon which mainstream sociology relies are rapidly uncovered when one looks at the way in which women are represented or, indeed, remain unrepresented. Sociologists have seemed unaware of women generally and women's political activity specifically, because they have confined their interest to institutions and structures in which men predominate. This is not through simple misogyny (though there may be elements of that), but on the assumption that in describing the behaviour of men or in analysing those institutions and structures in which men predominate that they are able to make legitimate generalisations about women, too. Sometimes this is on the basis that what is true of men is also true of women while at other times it is assumed that what is true of men can be reversed for a description of women.

Assumptions made about the way society is ordered are related to assumptions made about women. It will be useful to look at these in turn. First, *taken-for-granted assumptions about the sexes* (sex-role stereotypes) underlie analysis of women's role in society, so that the *functionality of a sexual division of labour* is almost axiomatic. Consequently, *women have little or no sociological reality outside the family*. Furthermore, as the family is an institution in which, sociologically, men are unimportant, analysis of it is relatively underdeveloped, at least so far as the conceptual apparatus applied to other institutions is concerned. This leads many sociologists to make *simple-minded accounts of the genesis and meaning of change* within the family which show a lack of acknowledgment of women's own perceptions, definitions and assessments of their situation.

1 Sex-role stereotypes in sociology and political science

It will be sufficient to summarise a few of these stereotypes as they relate to women's supposed apathy and political passivity. Goot and Reid (1975) in their critique of political sociology have clearly demonstrated the resistance of this discipline to considering the meaning of women's political activity which is manifested by their lack of participation in formal politics. Hughes (1973) has accused the discipline of relying upon 'folk myth and stereotype' as far as this subject is concerned. Some of these myths have already been referred to and others will

be discussed later. That women are emotional and expressive is an assumption which in voting studies is interpreted as meaning that they personalise politics and are fickle in their allegiances. That men are instrumental and rational is an assumption which leads political scientists to assert that men, by definition, know what the real issues are and should they change their allegiances it is because they can discriminate between issues. Women's assumed dependency, so fiercely asserted in other branches of sociology, occurs here, too, in the assertion (often belied by the actual data) that women follow their husband's lead and that the direction of influence from one partner to another is entirely from the man to the woman.

These add up to the notion that women are politically immature, 'political minors' or 'mindless matrons' where by contrast men are mature. It is not surprising, then, that the allegation that women do not participate in politics is meant as a statement about their 'nature' not a comment on the nature of established politics or on the definition of what constitutes political behaviour. However, when men abstain from political activity this is accounted for by assuming it has a 'political' cause and is certainly not an assertion about men's 'nature'.

Women are presented as being not only politically backward, but because of their assumed role as moral guardians in the family as being inherently, if not innately, conservative, traditional and conformist. The 'conservatism' of women is one of the more dearly held beliefs which is a useful catch-all 'explanation' for whatever women do. Women are conservative if they vote Tory; they are conservative if they vote Labour, because it is asserted that their reason for doing so is a 'traditional attachment', unlike that of men, who in voting Labour demonstrate their lack of conservatism (Goot and Reid, 1975). Adducing different explanations for similar behaviour in women and men is a further way that political sociology tries to establish women's a-political character.

As Goot and Reid themselves conclude 'too often where voting studies have actually looked at women voters, prejudice has posed as analysis and ideology as science'. The conservatism of women is not only asserted in political sociology. This belief is just as deep-rooted in other branches of the discipline. In industrial sociology, for example, much has been written about the supposed lower degree of unionisation among women, which is often accounted for by their being less interested in politics or more conservative than male workers. As

Brown (1974) in his review of the literature makes clear, here, as elsewhere, the significance of a sexually divided job market is ignored. It is taken for granted that men and women are employed in different work, and so it appears to make sense to ask the questions 'are women less unionised than men?', 'are women less likely than men to engage in strikes?', etc. Put in this way the answer is 'yes' and that answer is explained by recourse to pseudo-psychological arguments about the differences between the sexes. If it is recognised that in many instances men and women are not working at the same jobs, the questions have to be rephrased: 'do women who are employed at the same jobs as men show lower degrees of unionisation than those men?' etc. In which case the answer is 'no'. In other words, the stereotype that women are less political than men leads sociologists to adopt personal-difference type explanations and blinds them to the fact that men and women are located at different points in the job-market - which leads to structural explanations of the differences in behaviour between the sexes.

The inability of mainstream sociology to see the political significance of feminism or of the women's movement stems from these stereotypes which make it difficult to consider that activities engaged in by women could be political. Sociology is hampered here by its limited definition of 'power' which confines interest to the machinery of government, state and political administration rather than widening it to include an analysis of the political dimension to behaviour - 'the exercise of constraint in any relationship' (Worsley, 1964). As Oakley (1974b) points out a phenomenon such as gossip meets the criterion of power (a means of controlling other people's behaviour) yet is more or less totally ignored in the sociological literature. She suggests that, although gossip is not actually the prerogative of women (as anthropological literature attests) it is certainly considered as such in the stereotypes on which sociology is based and it may be for that precise reason that it has not been analysed as power.

2 Functionality of a sexual division of labour

In the society which sociologists construct for study it is assumed that segregation of roles by sex is functional and acceptable. Parsonian functionalist theory enshrines the notion of segregated and mutually exclusive roles and functions in its concept of the 'pattern variables' which are used to designate the orientations of a person or

collectivity. The variables are actually polar opposites in which women are characterised (alongside underdeveloped societies) by the first, and men (together with developed societies) by the second in the following list of characteristics: ascription vs achievement (women 'borrow' status from whichever man - father or husband - they are attached to, while men achieve their own status); diffuseness vs specificity (women have woolly minds, men are clear-headed); particularism vs universalism; collectivity orientation vs self-orientation (women put others before themselves); affectivity vs emotional neutrality (this is sometimes expressed as women have expressive functions while men are instrumental). The weakness of this conceptual schema lies in the fact that what are presented as supposedly analytic categories, which approximate to a greater or less extent to social reality, also carry connotations of what is right and proper, i.e. they are prescriptive.

And it is for this reason that sociologists, in designating housework, for example, as part of women's expressive role in the family, have been hindered in their analysis of its meaning: because it is considered part of the expressive role it is not instrumental, therefore it is not work. Sociologists have thus been forced into a position of suggesting that the skills required for its execution are different in kind from those required in the world of 'real' (i.e. paid) work (Oakley, 1974b). This is only one example of the way that mainstream sociology's assumptions about the functionality of role segregation leads it to highlight supposed differences rather than focus on the possible similarities between the role, orientations and skills of women and men.

As part of its analysis of the functionality of a complex division of labour in advanced industrial societies, sociology has contributed to the idea that a division of labour based on sex is defensible. In the terminology of the discipline there are two kinds of status - that based on innate characteristics (sex, race, age) and called ascribed status; and that which is based on some achievement of its holder which is called achieved status. The defensibility of a division of labour in advanced industrial societies based on certain ascribed statuses has long since been discredited. Few, if any, sociologists would defend as proper a division based on the racial or ethnic origin of a group, nor would they attribute the existence of a racially structured division of labour to the supposed different nature of blacks and whites. But in its contention that men and women should have different spheres of activity sociology is certainly perpetuating this idea with regard to the sexes.

It further assumes that such sexually segregated roles are equally important for the stability of society, that they thus attract a similar value, or at the very least do not lead to significant differences in evaluation. Since the segregated roles are in some mysterious way complementary there is no essential reason for conflict between the bearers of the roles and thus no reason for an exercise of power in this dimension of social life. In this way mainstream sociology apparently believes or anyway gives credence to the belief that equality between the sexes exists. Of course inequalities in other spheres of life are recognised and focused on, but by sociology's definition the primary role of women is in the family - the woman's fundamental status is that of her husband's wife, the mother of his children - and so different evaluations of the sexes is defined as unimportant for women. Therefore, by definition the burden of inequalities is located mostly in the field of work, and so perceived to fall more heavily on men.

3 Women have no reality outside the family

Not only does sociology define women as playing an expressive role in life, but they are confined to playing this in the family. Women's main or only role is in the family - as Comer (1974) points out sociology actually assumes the synonymity of 'women' and 'the family':

> marriage is interpreted as serving the needs of individuals, whereas it is so institutionalised as to serve the needs of society. The same is true of the family itself, many of whose apparently intimate functions are, in fact, performed directly on behalf of society ... any scrutiny of these functions focuses on the duties of the woman within the family ... as provider of her husband's (i.e. worker's) physical, sexual, emotional and psychological well being, and as bearer and rearer of children ... if we look closer at the family as a refuge for the (male) worker, we can see how, what is regarded as the usefulness of the family is, in fact, the usefulness of *women*. (Comer, 1974)

The assumption that women have no real existence outside the family and that within the family women are dependent on men is quite explicit in that field of sociology which specifically applies itself to the analysis of structured inequalities in society - social stratification theory. Its starting point is that inequalities derive from class, not gender, and that the family is the proper

unit of analysis of class; individuals derive their status from the family to which they are attached by birth or marriage; a convention stemming from the theory has developed that the most efficient indicator of a family's status or class is the occupation of the head of household. Heads of household are by definition or usage male (Steinmetz, 1974). So except in circumstances when they cannot do so, sociologists present women as entirely dependent on men - father or husband - for their status while men are seen as defining their own status. The ideological underpinnings of such a view are fairly easy to see; as critics of this area point out (Acker, 1973; Hutton, 1974; Steinmetz, 1974) such formulations bear little resemblance to the actual situation of men and women and, moreover, leave out more people than they include (those who do not live in families, female-headed households) and take no account of women's presence in the labour market. To recognise that a majority of women are employed outside the home presents some difficulties for stratification theorists, notably, why if a man's job defines his socio-economic status a woman's job does not have that meaning for her, and perhaps more alarmingly for the axiomatic definition of women as dependent, why when a woman is employed in an occupation ranked higher than her husband's - Hutton (1974) suggests this applies to a sizeable proportion of women - his status is not dependent on hers. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that such theoretical confusions arise because of the prescriptive nature of sociologists' conception of the way society is ordered and that they are more concerned to maintain the existence of this 'reality' than to look for or analyse situations which call that reality into question.

4 Change within the family

Having assigned women their place in the home as part of their schema sociologists might then be expected to have given some consideration to the way that the family is structured, how its members play their roles and how they effect changes within it. Certainly one would expect that, since this is the primary area in which women are assumed to operate, sociologists wishing to analyse changes or challenges to the existing order, such as have been made by the recent feminist movement, would look to precisely this institution for their evidence. Had they done so they could scarcely have avoided some awareness that here was a place where roles, structures and self-

definitions were indeed changing. However, such an awareness did not emerge because this change is of a different kind, brought about for reasons different from those normally recognised by sociology. For another untested sociological assumption is that the family does and should change to keep pace with changes outside it 'in society', or more particularly to keep pace with extra-familial economic and technological forces. A more or less automatic fit between family forms and technological change is one strand in this, while Young and Willmott (1973), for instance, can talk of a new 'symmetry' in the family without any consideration of the deeper structure of power dimensions within the family itself or between family members. The family, in short, is conceived as changing in reaction to forces outside it.

Most literature on the family skirts the issue of how change is effected within the family, blandly assuming that it is accomplished smoothly and without greater personal cost to one member than another. This should not be too surprising if it is understood that here as elsewhere in sociology we are dealing with male perceptions of male-defined situations. By equating 'women' and 'the family' it is possible for sociologists to disregard or even to be blind to the fact that when they talk of the family accommodating to societal changes what they mean is that women are being expected to accommodate. Particularly, but by no means solely in this area, sociology fails to give consideration or credence to the meanings which women themselves attach to their roles. Such meanings, if they were studied, might very well be at variance with their 'sociological meaning'. In brief, mainstream sociology tends to confound functionality - an external assessment - with acceptability - a personal assessment. By greater concentration on functionality sociology has imposed limitations on its ability to recognise the importance of changing ideas about the acceptability of roles within the family.

It would be wrong to give the impression that all sociologists have been uniformly dilatory in the matter of stereotypic presentations of women for a number have been applying themselves to different aspects. Some (Ehrlich, 1971; Kirschner, 1973; Laws, 1971; McNally, 1974; Schneider and Hacker, 1973) have analysed introductory texts and other source materials for evidence of the way the sexes are represented; others have looked at substantive areas or sub-disciplines to uncover assumptions made about women (Acker, 1973; Hutton, 1974; Schwendinger and Schwendinger, 1971; Steinmetz, 1974;

Watson and Barth, 1964); a few (Brown, 1974; Frankenberg, 1974) have re-analysed their own or others' work in the light of the feminist critique; yet others have researched and written about discrimination within the profession of sociology itself (Chubin, 1974; Hughes, 1973; Henandez et al., 1973; Lorch, 1973; Wolfe et al., 1973) and there are, finally, the beginnings of new substantive work from a feminist perspective (Comer, 1974; Felson and Knoke, 1974; Gillespie, 1971; Oakley, 1974b).

These are mostly recent attempts, but there existed an earlier paper (Mitchell, 1966) whose importance within the women's movement is not paralleled in the academic world of sociology. In this paper, Mitchell set out a 'justification' for socialist theorists to look again at the subordination of women. Arguing that women's subordination had been of great theoretical concern to early analysts such as Marx, Engels and Fourier, but had subsequently 'become a subsidiary, if not an invisible element in the preoccupations of socialists' she traces the cause of this to the fact that 'the liberation of women remains a normative ideal, an adjunct to socialist theory, not structurally integrated into it'. She suggests a more complex analysis of women's condition which would integrate that analysis more centrally into Marxist/socialist theory.

This analysis was taken up by some left-inclined sociologists, but it is interesting to note that Frankenberg in 1974 could still say, in his criticism of the left at large, 'The relations of production at work are lovingly and loathingly described; relations of production in the home and community are ignored with equal determination.' It is precisely in the area of work, re-defining women's role in the process of production (how to analyse housework as productive labour, what constitutes work, etc.), that radical left sociologists have concentrated their efforts to analyse women's condition and to locate women more centrally in a Marxist analysis (Gardiner, 1974; Secombe, 1974). But Frankenberg is substantially right, for while instructive accounts have been given of housework as unpaid but essential (for capitalism) productive labour, these sociologists have left relatively unquestioned the assumptions that women are dependent on men and that a class analysis which is predicated on such assumptions continues to be fruitful. And it is true to say that among left-inclined sociologists the three other related and interconnected elements suggested by Mitchell - reproduction, sexuality and the socialisation of children - have continued to be ignored and underdeveloped.

The importance of focusing analysis on all elements of

women's situation in the family rather than defining the family per se as the cause of women's subordination is recognised within the women's movement and although there are some sociologists who have pointed the way the challenge has not yet been taken up widely among left sociologists and hardly at all by mainstream sociologists.

The Women's Liberation Movement has implications in all spheres of life, the academic disciplines included. Its impact, as Weinreich (1975) points out, is potentially very great. Women in the movement and commentators in social science who are gathering information about the material condition of women are likely to have a great impact as 'any factual statement about women's position in society creates a moral conflict in that the actual situation of women is in direct contravention of the professed morals and egalitarian principles of the culture' (Campbell, 1973). The reason for sociology's failure to apply itself to the issue can perhaps be inferred from Campbell's second contention that

> because of cultural norms, reflected as we have noted in psychological research, any argument proposing even quite minor reforms is revolutionary because [for women] to question the norms is itself a violation of sex-role stereotypes, and it is bound to lead to major personal as well as social and political change.

As has been well demonstrated elsewhere (Tomlinson, 1974) sociology adopts the same stereotypes of women as those perpetuated by psychology, notions which define women as a-political, passive, non-instrumental, not part of or concerned with the 'real' world of work. These stereotypes make it difficult for mainstream sociology to recognise women's activities in the Women's Movement as political, for to do so would mean recognising that these stereotypes are and have been a nonsense. Women have analysed their environment and found it wanting. They have suggested means for rectifying the situation and banded together to implement these solutions and to give support to each other. They are challenging a situation in which they consider themselves to be oppressed even if sociology does not see it that way. All of this confronts sociologists with unavoidable evidence of political activity on the part of women and at the same time evidence of the ideology of sociology - the kind of society which sociologists study and the caricatures of those people who inhabit the society owes more to prescription than to testable hypotheses.

In Britain women's caucuses have been set up in sociology and psychology, aimed at monitoring the progress of women in the professions and at eliminating the caricature

of women and men that passes for empirical truth in these disciplines. Drawing their inspiration from the women's movement and from the undeniable difference between the way women are acting and the way they 'ought' to if their representation by social science were correct, it is likely that such groupings will have a lasting impact on the disciplines.

Sociology traditionally views women in such a limited light that it has been hampered from seeing the social and political significance of the recent behaviour of women. It has taken commentators, many of whom are considered marginal in the profession, to point out that the stereotypic presentation of women probably always bore more relation to men's fantasies of the ideal society and their (central) place in it than to women's actual behaviour and self-conceptions.

The axiomatic taken-for-granted assumptions on which sociology has relied hinders rather than aids its aim of being able to analyse and comment on human social behaviour. In order to apply itself to a better analysis of social reality it must stop relying on ossified perceptions of the sexes. First, it should take for analysis, not for granted, differences between the sexes and in doing so should avoid conceptualisations that assume a polarity of characteristics, roles, functions and self-definitions. By concentrating more on people's own perceptions of their situation rather than on external definitions it would become much more obvious that to disregard 50 per cent of the population makes a nonsense of a purportedly *human* science: it would bring more to the surface the limitations that are imposed on its efficacy to comment on human social behaviour at present - by its current automatic assumption that with men being the ground plan, women can be omitted from study because inferences can legitimately be made by either assuming that what is true for men is true for women as well or by reversing for women what is established for men.

The need to study women is central to this enterprise, as is the need to look at the differences among men and among women. Sociology must give up the automatic or near automatic assumption that where differences between the sexes exist this is attributable to 'nature' rather than to structured inequalities between the sexes.

It is strangely inconsistent for a discipline which is concerned with the importance of environmental influences on the person to continue to view women as being in some way exempt from such influences and tied to a destiny defined by their biology.

In giving prominence to the actor's definitions of the

situation sociology should find itself more able to effect a more complete analysis of the differing and complex ways in which humans attempt to integrate the many different roles, statuses and functions with which they are daily confronted.

Work has already begun in the area; some writers have begun to point the way to a less limited perspective in sociology. It is to be hoped that their voice will be heard and their message acted upon.

Les travailleurs étrangers en Europe occidentale

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Philippe J. BERNARD

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Experiences of adolescents from ethnic minorities in the British State education system*

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Migration to Britain since the Second World War, as in many other Western European countries, has been partly the result of active encouragement or recruitment by government and industry who viewed immigrants as one ready way of matching supply and demand for labour in particular areas. Consequently immigrants are concentrated in certain geographical areas of Britain (Tyneside, West Yorkshire, South-East Lancashire, Merseyside, West Midlands and Greater London), and are over-represented in particular industries and under-represented in others. Similarly, the majority of immigrants are employed in semi-skilled and unskilled manual work. In all of these respects immigrants in Britain may differ very little from those in other Western European countries. But in other respects their situation, legally and historically, can be seen as different. Most migrants to Britain are from the Commonwealth and as such have legitimate claims to British citizenship even before arriving in this country. This has had important consequences in terms of policies regarding the migration of dependents, such that migrants to Britain should be regarded as 'settlers' rather than transient migrant workers, and has placed at least moral (and up to a point, legal) restraints on the extent to which they can be treated as a simple reserve labour force. It should be remembered, though, that the legal rights to Commonwealth members to entry and settlement in Britain have been eroded by continued restrictive legislation and that this bears hardest on immigrants from the 'coloured' New Commonwealth[1].

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1. For the purposes of the Census an *'immigrant'* is simply someone

'Coloured' immigrants form the largest single group of immigrants who currently have children in significant numbers in British schools (see table 1). Irrespective of the way educational policies and practices are formed the education of their children takes place against a background of increasingly overt discrimination[2] on the grounds of colour so far as such acts of legislation are concerned even though the Race Relations Acts of 1965 and 1968 make expressions of such discrimination by individuals illegal. The status of being 'coloured' is highlighted in these circumstances, the status of 'U.K.-born' or 'immigrant' becomes less important. In common usage the terms are used interchangeably anyway whatever the actual status of the person. In addition the distinction between 'immigrant' and 'coloured' has virtually ceased to have meaning so far as schools and educational policymakers are concerned[3], as a closer look at table 1 shows.

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who was born overseas and is now resident in Britain. By this definition 'immigrants' formed 5 % of the total population in 1961 and 6,5 % in 1971. The '*coloured*' population is made up of those people born in the 'coloured' New Commonwealth to parents one or both of whom were also born there *and* those born in the U.K. to parents one or both of whom were born in the 'coloured' New Commonwealth, i.e. in the West Indies, Africa, the Indian-Subcontinent, Ceylon, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore and other countries in Asia and Oceania. By this definition 0,5 % of Britain's total population was 'coloured' in 1961 and in 1971, 2.1 % (of whom 91 % are from Africa, the West Indies, India and Pakistan [55]). Coloured immigration into Britain began in substantial terms in 1955, firstly from the West Indies and later from the other new Commonwealth countries. Typically, though not exclusively, it was the males who migrated first and after a time-lag of 2 or more years female migration began to take place. This can be summarised as follows: of the total 1971 male West Indian-born population in Britain 70 % had already arrived here by the end of 1961. The figures for the three other main groups are Indians 41 %, Pakistanis 29 %, and Africans (including Asian-origin) 16 % [55]. In other words the migration of Asians and Africans has been largely a post-1961 phenomenon, and this is reflected in the current age and sex-structure of these groups, and the proportion of U.K.-borns as compared with New Commonwealth-born children in each of the groups.

2. For a recent analysis of prejudice against 'coloured' people as it has been and continues to be transmitted through the mass media see Hartmann and Husband [33].

3. Using the Department of Education and Science (D.E.S.) definition of an immigrant pupil (viz. a child born overseas to parents both of whom are also born overseas and a child born in the U.K. to parents who came to this country as immigrants within 10 years of the date on which the statistics are being gathered), in 1972 82 % of immigrant pupils were coloured (72 % in 1966). The D.E.S. definition excludes children of parents only one of whom is an immigrant.

Table 1. *Immigrant pupils (aged 5-18) in primary and secondary schools by country of origin*

Countries	1972		1966*	
	Number	%	Number	%
West Indies	101,898	36.4	57,217	43.7
India	56,193	20.1	24,315	18.6
Pakistan	30,629	10.9	7,860	6.0
Kenya (Asian origin)	17,340	6.2		n/i
Africa	15,829	5.7	4,363	3.3
Other commonwealth in Asia	8,008	2.9		n/i
Italy	12,009	4.3	8,785	6.7
Cyprus (Greek)	9,504	3.4	9,652	7.4
Cyprus (Turkish)	4,461	1.6	3,643	2.8
Spain	3,275	1.2		n/i
Poland	1,958	0.7	3,459	2.6
Other European	5,980	2.1		n/i
Australia / Canada / New Zealand	2,455	0.9		n/i
Gibraltar / Malta	1,252	0.4	957	0.7
Rest of world	9,081	3.2		n/i
Hungary	720	0.5		
Others	10,072	7.7		

Source : D.E.S. Statistics of Education [17, 23].

* 1966 was the first year in which such statistics were collected. They are not strictly comparable to the 1972 figures since the 1966 figures exclude schools with fewer than 10 immigrant pupils on the roll and thus under-estimate slightly the total number of immigrant pupils.

To set the discussion in perspective it is worth remembering that as a proportion of the total school population immigrants, as defined by the D.E.S., form a tiny minority — in 1966 1.8 %, in 1972 3.3 %. In addition to those defined as 'immigrant' there will be a number of children born to parents *one* of whom is coloured/foreign or a coloured/European immigrant and a growing number of 'non-immigrant' children (coloured and white) born to parents who migrated to Britain more then 10 years ago. The evidence to be presented later suggests that generally the educational problems and experiences of these latter pupils more nearly approximates that of their 'immigrant' peers than of the indigenous white population. For this reason when the terms West Indian, Asian, Cypriot, etc. are used they refer to all those adolescents whether they be overseas-born and partly or fully British-educated ('*true*' immigrants) or U.K.-born fully British-educated children of immigrants. Note that although Cypriots represent a

small (and decreasing) proportion of the immigrant school population they are largely settled in a few London boroughs and thus constitute significant minorities in particular schools. Reference to Cypriots will be made where appropriate.

This paper will be mainly concerned with young people aged 11 to approximately 21, that is pupils in the secondary schools and 'young adults', although it seems necessary to consider features associated with adolescents' earlier experiences both at school (in England or abroad) and prior to entering the educational systems if one is to understand the situation they find themselves in at the secondary school and immediately post-school levels.

A summary of the educational and occupational attainments and the experiences and problems which adolescents from ethnic minority groups encounter will be set in the wider context in which education takes place with particular reference to the major policies implemented by central and local agencies relevant to these areas of concern. An indication of the issues which have been or still are under debate will be included. Brief summaries of the major recommendations for further central, local and community action will be included.

Achievement in school

By the early 1960s evidence was beginning to build up concerning the poor educational attainment of immigrant children relative to their indigenous white peers [88]. Subsequent researches, reported in 1967 [41], 1968 [42,53], 1972 [90] and 1974 [11,79] have confirmed this finding. With regard to immigrants generally, they still tend to be found in disproportionate numbers in the lower and remedial streams of ordinary schools and to form a disproportionately large percentage of pupils in special schools for the Educationally Subnormal (E.S.N.). They may also leave school with fewer paper qualifications than their English peers or take longer to obtain such qualifications — in a study published in 1972 the proportion of West Indian, Indian and Pakistani pupils in the 5th or 6th forms of secondary schools who were taking predominantly non-examination courses was 1:3 (for English pupils 1:30). Only 6 % of the immigrants (as compared with 50 % of English) were concentrating mainly on G.C.E. Ordinary level. In the 6th forms 20 % of West Indians (as compared with 75 % of English) were taking 'A' level [90]. Caution should therefore be exercised in interpreting staying on beyond the statutory leaving age as an indicator that pupils will be obtaining qualifications that put them in a position to obtain good jobs or access to further education.

There is some evidence that immigrants (in this case Cypriots and West Indians) have a more favourable attitude to school than their English counterparts [5]. Such an attitude is commonly believed to be associated with scholastic attainment, although this was not directly the case in the research just cited.

This is the general picture, but it is worth noting that there are important differences between the ethnic minorities in terms of attainment and success at school and later in terms of finding employment. It is the West Indian child who is the least successful in academic terms, whereas the Indian, Pakistani and Cypriot child tends to achieve similarly to, or sometimes better than, his white peers, and it is the West Indian adolescent who finds it most difficult to obtain employment. There is some evidence of 'a consistent and marked improvement in immigrant performance with increasing length of English education' [41], but enven among those children from ethnic minorities who have received all their schooling in Britain those of West Indian parentage are likely to perform at lower levels than the others [53].

In their report on E.S.N. schools the Inner London Education Authority (I.L.E.A.) concluded that 'some immigrant children, especially West Indians, may well have intellectual potential above the assessed I.Q., their level of achievement having been depressed by inadequate or narrow previous education' [42]. If this reference to previous education is directed at schooling abroad one would expect this to bear equally heavily on other immigrants groups, for it is frequently asserted that the teaching methods in the Indian sub-continent, Ireland, Southern Europe as well as the West Indies are more 'rigid and formal' [64,90] than those employed in Britain. But a closer look at the data suggests that immigrant groups (other than West Indians) are *under-represented* in the E.S.N. schools — I.L.E.A. figures for 1970 are that immigrants form 17 % of the ordinary school but 34 % of the special school populations. Of these nearly 80 % are West Indian. Of the immigrant population in secondary E.S.N. schools it is claimed that as many as 20 % had been admitted without any experience in a British school. The relatively poor attainment of immigrant pupils and of pupils from immigrant backgrounds must be viewed in terms of the adequacy and kind of educational provisions that are made for them. These are described in a later section.

Employment

Unemployment rates among school-leavers are higher for West Indians than for Asians or whites : 14.8 % compared with 6.7 % (reported in *The Observer*, 29 October 1972). It takes immigrants generally, and West Indians particularly, longer to find a job than their white counterparts. They are also likely to have to make much greater use of the services of the Careers Office (an agency under the aegis of the local education authority, dealing with youth employment) in order to find work [27, 68]. Once in work West Indian (males) are likely to express more dissatisfaction with their jobs than whites or Asians [27, 68, 76]. The problem in the longer term is not so much one of finding work, but jobs which are consonant with their abilities and their aspirations. Bhatnagar in a study in London [5] concludes that West Indian and Cypriot pupils have similar vocational aspirations to the English but they are more likely to believe that they would not get the job they wanted. Other studies of about the same period suggest that this is a realistic assessment. The first of these studies, done in London, Birmingham and Bradford in 1970, found that the majority of Pakistanis and Indians were in unskilled jobs, compared with 44 % of West Indians. A similar proportion (44 %) of West Indians were in semi-skilled and skilled jobs (there is no information about jobs of white peers in these areas) [27]. A later study of West Indian and English adolescents 7 months after leaving school in Birmingham and London, concluded that more West Indian than white adolescents end up in manual occupations. It is worth noting that there were differences within the Caribbean group in this respect. Those West Indians fully-educated or with all secondary education in Britain fared better than those who were only partially educated in Britain at the Secondary level, in terms of lower unemployment rates (14 % as compared with 19 %, English 5 %) and gaining a larger proportion of semi-skilled or skilled occupations [68].

There has been considerable discussion in Britain about the 'unrealistic' aspirations of immigrants, especially as this affects their discontent with their jobs. This is a view propounded by, among others, careers teachers in schools and Careers Officers. The last study cited throws some interesting light on this. The white and West Indian boys were matched in terms of age, qualifications, attendance at the same school, and going to the same careers officers. Careers Officers were asked to assess the adolescent's general intelligence on a three point scale from the impressions they had gained from their interviews with them and from reading school reports. Despite the matching in terms of qualifications, the officers tended to place more West Indians in the lower category of intelligence.

Careers Officers' Assessments of adolescents' general intelligence

	Whites %	West Indians %
Above average	28	14
Average	49	50
Below average	18	36
Don't know/no answer	5	—

Source : [68].

It is likely that notions about what are 'realistic' aspirations for immigrants are at least partly based on this under-assessment of their abilities. It is suggested by a number of commentators that teachers' behaviourally-expressed expectations of their pupils' abilities can raise or depress educational achievement. For example, they expect children from lower socio-economic levels to achieve less, and physical appearance e.g. tidiness, is taken as an indication of ability. (For a summary of this literature see Davey [14]). Personal assessments of ability are notoriously more open to bias and prejudice of this sort than more 'objective' tests of attainment, for all that these have drawbacks (see Rose [76], Coard [10], Bagley [2]).

Discussions about possible over-ambitious aspirations must be viewed with caution, depending on the reliability of the assessment on which they are based. It must also be recognized that a further factor which complicates the discussion, and which has direct effects on minority group adolescents' ability to obtain the job of their choice is the existence of racial prejudice and discrimination in the job market. This has been well-documented in for example, the P.E.P. survey of 1967, reported in Daniel [13]. In this study interviews were conducted with people in a position to discriminate in the field of employment, housing, credit facilities, insurance and personal services. These revealed little evidence of racial prejudice. However, situation tests were also conducted in which a black immigrant, a white immigrant and a white English-

man applied independently to employers, landlords, building societies, car hire and insurance firms. Substantial discrimination against immigrants was uncovered in all these aras, particularly against the black applicant. In interviews with immigrants the the greatest reported discrimination occured among those with the highest qualifications, general ability and familiarity with the British way of life (P.E.P. have underway a replication of their 1967 study).

The foregoing discussion on employment has been concerned with males only because of a dearth of published research or even speculation in Britain on the employment prospects of black females (adolescent or adults). Professor Sheila Allen at Bradford is currently engaged in research on employment among adolescent Asians, West Indians and whites of both sexes.

Concern over school placement and employment difficulties is expressed in terms of social justice: 'There is a general expectation that a particular level of qualification... carries certain career expectations. If ... a black or brown boy or girl sees these expectations fulfilled in the case of white contemporaries but denied to him or her, any good that education has done towards race relations is at immediate and total risk' [66]. The other concern is expressed in terms of the maintenance of good community relations, but it would be fair to say that underlying this is the fear of creating black disaffection, especially among males (see *The Observer* leader, 29 October 1972), with its subsequent repercussions on police-blak relationships which are already strained in some localities [45].

A note of caution should be made about the interpretation of rates of unemployment as simple indicators of the state of race relations or of racial discrimination. In an expanding economy unemployment is low for most groups including immigrants or blacks. When the job market is tight employers are more in a position to choose their employees, and consequently rates of unemployment may be very different for whites as against blacks or as between the different ethnic minorities.

The wider context of educational attainment

Some notion of 'adjustment' in the sense of settling into school or into British society has been commonly used in discussions of immigrants. In the former sense it is held to be related to educational attainment [5] and schools have been assumed to have a

major role in bringing about adjustment in its wider sense [66]. Brief pointers will be made to the context in which education and adjustment are expected to take place.

The emotional and motivational factors which underpin the continued poor performance of some minority group adolescents and the good performance of some others are themselves dependent on (i) what, in terms of values, expectations and abilities gained in the preceeding years, the child brings to bear on the school situation; (ii) the climate which the school provides in terms of its aims (scholastic and social), and (iii) wider societal values and opportunity structures in the context of which schooling takes place.

I can do no more than point briefly to the literature and its main findings with respect to these three areas.

(i) *The values, expectations and abilities which immigrant and black pupils bring to the school situation*

The suggestion has already been made that immigrants who have been partly educated abroad may have expectations about teaching methods, forms of discipline and appropriate behaviour which are inappropriate for the British setting [10, 76]. For such children their initial days at school in Britain may be accompanied by culture-shock which is manifested in behaviour problems of various kinds [10, 66, 67, 75, 79, 80, 87]. There is a danger that such behaviour will be seen as evidence of permanent disturbance and as such a reason for placement in Special Schools [10]. There is evidence that some minority group children (and many indigenous children, too) are inadequately prepared for school, either because parents are insufficiently aware of the need for pre-school stimulation [10, 28, 71, 76] or because parents' earning power is such (see for example [50]) that both may be compelled to work full-time, in which case they resort to childminders (often illegal ones) who are themselves unprepared or unaware of the need to do more than see to the physical needs of the small child. The use of childminders among the ethnic minorities is greatest for West Indians and Africans. Nursery provisions, particularly in the areas in which large proportions of immigrants are concentrated are poor or non-existent [37, 43, 46, 79].

For yet other black children, particularly, it is argued, those who are U.K. born, there are different factors at work, such as inter-generational conflict based on living 'between' two cultures [18] or on the 'vastly and qualitatively different' adjustments

which parents and children make to their new environment [46]. It is also suggested that great tensions are experienced by many West Indians as a result of parents having very high expectations both of their child at school and of their contribution to domestic and family chores [46, 76, 78, 79]. It appears that some very young teenagers may leave home under such circumstances [46], although the extent of such 'homelessness' has not been accurately ascertained.

(ii) *Educational and social aims of the school*

Apart from its obvious role of instruction in particular subjects the school also has an additional role of transmitting values, i.e. it is an agent of socialisation. How schools define this role depends on a number of factors. Firstly, the aims and attitudes of teachers are important, and these have been briefly touched on in a previous part of this paper — '... teachers see their role as putting over a set of values (Christian), a code of behaviour (middle-class) and a set of academic and job aspirations in which white collar jobs have higher prestige than manual, clean jobs than dirty...' [95], i.e. agents of *socialisation* for the English pupils and *acculturation* for the immigrant pupils. Evidence of teachers' prejudice to blacks and immigrants is contained in Maxwell [57].

A second set of factors relates to parents' attitudes and their affinity to or divergence from those of the school. In this respect it appears that Indian and Pakistani parents may be more likely than other immigrants to reject the notion of acculturation to the British society [95]. Where there is an affinity between the aims of the school and those of the parents, e.g. over the importance of achievement, there may still exist conflicts as to how this should be achieved — conflicts over discipline, teaching methods or the need for special language-teaching for their children [75, 76, 90].

A third area concerns the attitudes and aspirations of immigrant and black children concerning themselves and their relationships to the indigenous white population. Adolescents may differ from their parents over these issues. There will be no need to go over the literature which has already been mentioned, but there are other areas which might usefully be considered here. There may be differences between ethnic minorities in their views regarding, for example, the desirability of assimilation for themselves. Evans [27] noted that more West Indian adolescents than Asian appeared to feel that there were no differences between themselves and indigenous whites and to favour assimilation.

There was a large proportion of Pakistanis and Indians who objected to British customs and who are therefore unlikely to have the same attitude to the value content of British education as West Indians.

As to relationships between immigrants or blacks and indigenous whites at school, these take place against an early awareness of colour differences [51, 56] and of evaluations of colour [44, 47, 59, 74]. There is no basis for *assuming* that friendship patterns in multi-ethnic schools will develop uniformly across ethnic group lines. Particular ethnic minorities may be seen as acceptable to particular indigenous whites although no one ethnic minority appears to be consistently favoured. Similarly, particular ethnic minorities may favour particular groups of English or other minority group members while disliking others [5, 26, 48, 77, 92]. Research by the present writer attests to the complexity of inter-ethnic hostility and acceptance in adolescents.

Taking the school's other aim of teaching in the subjects, numerous researchers have commented on the ethnocentrism and factually incorrect information evidenced in large numbers of school textbooks [25, 30, 32, 34, 96] or examination syllabuses [7, 55, 85]; on the derogatory view of blacks in literature [72] and early reading schemes; and the absence of teaching in schools about the Third World cultures. Even where such teaching exists it is seen as a 'tolerated extra' [85]. Attempts to counteract this lack are summarised in Bolton and Laishley [7], recommended books are listed in Coard [10] and Day [16]; practical suggestions for teachers are made in C.R.C. [12], McNeal [61], N.C.C.I. [63], and Robert-Holmes [75].

(iii) *Societal values and definitions of the 'problem of race and education'*

State education in Britain is organised in such a way that local education authorities and individual head teachers enjoy considerably more autonomy than is the case in some other European countries. For example, responsibility for the content of education is not centralised, and it has traditionally been an area which central government has defined as an 'educational' not a 'political' matter. This relative lack of state intervention has considerable advantages, in that it allows local education authorities to formulate practices and policies in response to local problems, some of which initially local initiatives may be taken up later as officially-encouraged policy (e.g. comprehensivization). But there are

limits to the efficacy of purely local initiatives. Firstly it places a great burden of innovation on those education authorities which may be most stretched in terms of resources, secondly it relies on the ability and willingness of particular local authorities to recognise needs and implement relevant policies, and thirdly it can encourage 'piece-meal tinkering' where national changes are required. Attempts to teach about race relations, to introduce black studies or other courses related to the cultures of Asians and West Indians are a case in point. They have by and large taken place in local authorities or schools with large populations of black pupils, whereas responsibility for teaching about other cultures, preparing pupils for a multi-racial society etc. has only lately been discussed so far as all-white schools or low concentration areas are concerned[4].

Local efforts in the field of education may only have long-term success if they are based on or are upheld by values which have wide currency in fields other than education. But such initiatives can be no substitute for a properly formulated national policy with regard to the education of pupils from minority ethnic groups. The extent to which education per se can or should be expected to successfully lead public opinion in the area of race relations, for example, is debatable.

Certainly, during the early 1960s it was assumed that education had a major role to play in bringing about racial harmony through encouraging cultural assimilation. This thinking can best be summed up by the major teachers' union statement in 1963 '... it is not the duty of the school either to foster or discourage the expression of national characteristics in minority groups' [64], and the later (1964) views of the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council (set up by tho Conservative government to advise the Home Secretary), 'A national systems of education must aim at producing citizens who can take their place in society properly equipped to exercise rights and perform duties the same as those of other citizens. If their parents were brought up in another culture and another tradition, children should be encouraged to respect it, but a national system cannot be expected to perpetuate the different values of immigrant groups' [9]. The assumption was that assimi-

4. The legitimacy and desirability of teaching black studies [7,66] or race relations is under discussion at the moment. Attempts have been made, notably by the Schools Council [83], to teach about race relations, but while the effects of this in terms of changing attitudes have been reported [3, 58, 68, 91], there exists no convincing evaluation of its efficacy.

lation should take place with minimal government intervention or change to the existing educational system. Discussions centred around how many immigrants a school could 'absorb' before its character was changed, or before immigrants were too numerous to benefit from 'rubbing shoulders' with the indigenous population, which was seen as the main way in which assimilation would come about. For the fallacy of this view see Garvie [29]. Fears were expressed about 'all-immigrant' schools which were assumed to be bad by definition [65]. Very little teaching about race relations took place [4]. Summaries of central policy thinking can be found in the Ministry of Education paper [60] and a Government White Paper of August 1965 *Immigration from the Commonwealth.* The laissez-faire approach is underlined by the fact that no statistics were gathered on immigrants in schools until 1966, and by the uncritical use of culture-biased assessment procedures with immigrants [6, 10, 11, 14, 15, 20, 65, 93]. Restrictions were lifted on teacher quotas in areas of immigration to allow for more teachers of English as a second language, but this was not backed by resources to train such teachers. In any case the only pupils recognised as in need of this were Asians and Southern Europeans so that if West Indians required special attention they were placed in remedial streams or E.S.N. schools. Finally, the major policy recommendation of central government made in response to the fears of white parents that 'standards' in schools were dropping was one of dispersal of immigrants. In a nutshell, the problem of race and education was seen during these years as basically an immigrant problem, a problem of numbers, the aim of education being to encourage immigrants to assimilate and whites to be tolerant. (For a clear and full analysis of policy up to 1969 see Rose [76]).

Alternative models to cultural assimilation have begun to emerge : that the role of education is to foster integration in the sense of cultural pluralism. This stems from an increased awareness that, in order to achieve the 'equality of educational opportunity' enshrined in the 1944 Education Act and education reports since, positive discrimination is needed [70]. Such discrimination should be based on educational need, not on race or place of birth, and should begin at the pre-school stage. It should apply to all those in need, black or white. Educationists have come to this view partly as a result of a large body of research (not cited in this paper) which has uncovered the class bias of British education [66] partly as a result of realising that the poor achievement

of some black pupils who are U.K.-born cannot be explained in terms of their status as immigrants, and partly a realisation that the teaching of English as a Second Language (E2L) to immigrant pupils had not on its own overcome the difficulties which such pupils encountered. Townsend [90] suggests that previous teaching of E2L has been relatively unproductive in that it concentrated on teaching to conversational fluency only (which is *not* related to educational achievement [5]) and neglected the more important aspect of teaching to written fluency and instruction in the particular language codes of school subjects at secondary school level (which *is* related to attainment). Teaching in E2L was too little and too late, mostly occuring after the age of 11. (Resistance on the part of teachers to such teaching at the infant level was noted by Rose [76]). (Summaries of local education authority practices in E2L can be found in numerous places [8, 21, 24, 31, 35, 73, 76, 81, 89, 90]. Very briefly, they range from arrangements which separate immigrants from the rest of the school population totally — language centres, reception classes — for a period of time to those which allow normal schooling from the start with provision for special tuition in withdrawal groups or classes for periods during the school day.)

Dispersal remains an official policy, still practised by a number of local education authorities, despite some evidence of a shift from concentrating on policies aimed at immigrants to attempting to combat disadvantage and culturally-induced backwardness in children whatever their ethnic background. The modified objective for education is to entourage 'respect' rather than 'tolerance' as may be seen in the N.U.T. statement of 1973 : 'The extent to which schools can and should transmit the cultural and religious values of the nation or race is perhaps arguable, but it is difficult to deny to children of one race or nation what is automatically done for others[5]... the emphasis for the future must lie in the concept of an education directed towards the needs of a multi-racial society, and not to the specific and isolated question of edu-

5. The reference here is to the fact that religion (i.e. Christianity) is the only subject which schools are *compelled* to teach under the provisions of the 1944 Education Act. Under this act denominational schools (eg. Roman Catholic, Jewish, Methodist, Quaker, etc.) are allowed. Some Asian parents are pressing for Muslim or Hindu schools (reported in *Sunday Times*, 28 April 1974), a request which has caused some consternation since religious separatism would isolate one particular ethnic minority from the rest of the society.

cating children from immigrant families with, often the unacknowledged aim of converting them into good Europeans!' [66].

To state the aims is, of course, not sufficient in itself to ensure their achievement. How readily the 'egalitarian dream' can be achieved will depend on both the extent to which central government intervenes in education more than has been customary in Britain and on the kind of intervention. Contentious and disliked policies such as dispersal will almost certainly need to be dropped, while more positive and imaginative efforts to educate for a multi-racial society will be required.

Adequate planned action by government will be required in a number of areas. A brief summary of recommendations which have been put forward follows :

(i) *Fuller implementation of existing policies*, as, for example, the Urban Aid scheme and the provision of more nursery schools, leisure facilities, etc. under the E.P.A. scheme. Extension of E2L beyond conversational fluency to all immigrant of black pupils in need [90].

(ii) *Any new Education Act* to contain 'a clear explicit declaration of intent' [7] to eradicate racism in whatever ways it is transmitted at school.

(iii) *Teachers* : greater allocation of resources to teacher training (initial and in-service), and preparation of all teachers for educating for a multi-racial society [7, 11, 65, 76], active recruitment of black teachers [10, 11, 65].

(iv) *Teaching materials* : preparation of, and extra resources to be made available for, suitable teaching materials for E2L, black studies, Third World literature, art and music, and for replacing ethnocentric books [7, 11, 65].

(v) *Reconsideration of assessment procedures :* attempts should be made to draw up more culture-fair tests, to reassess the selection procedures for E.S.N. placement, to train and employ more black child guidance officers, welfare workers and educational psychologists [10, 11, 65].

(vi) *A shift in focus with regard to government-sponsored research in education* : the emphasis has generally been on immigrant pupils but it should turn to the study of opportunities, results of curricular changes, the influencing of pupil and teacher attitudes more generally.

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